DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Walking the line of fire: violence, society, and the war for the Kentucky and Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 1774-1795

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Darren R. Reid

PhD Thesis

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For Connor

‘This is the showing-forth of inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that neither what has come to be from man in time might become faded, nor that great and wondrous deeds, those shown forth by Greeks and those by barbarians, might be without their glory; and together with all this, also through what cause they warred with each other.’

Herodotus, *The Histories*

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Finally, I owe no small debt to John D. Shane and Lyman C. Draper. Your work endures; as does your memory.

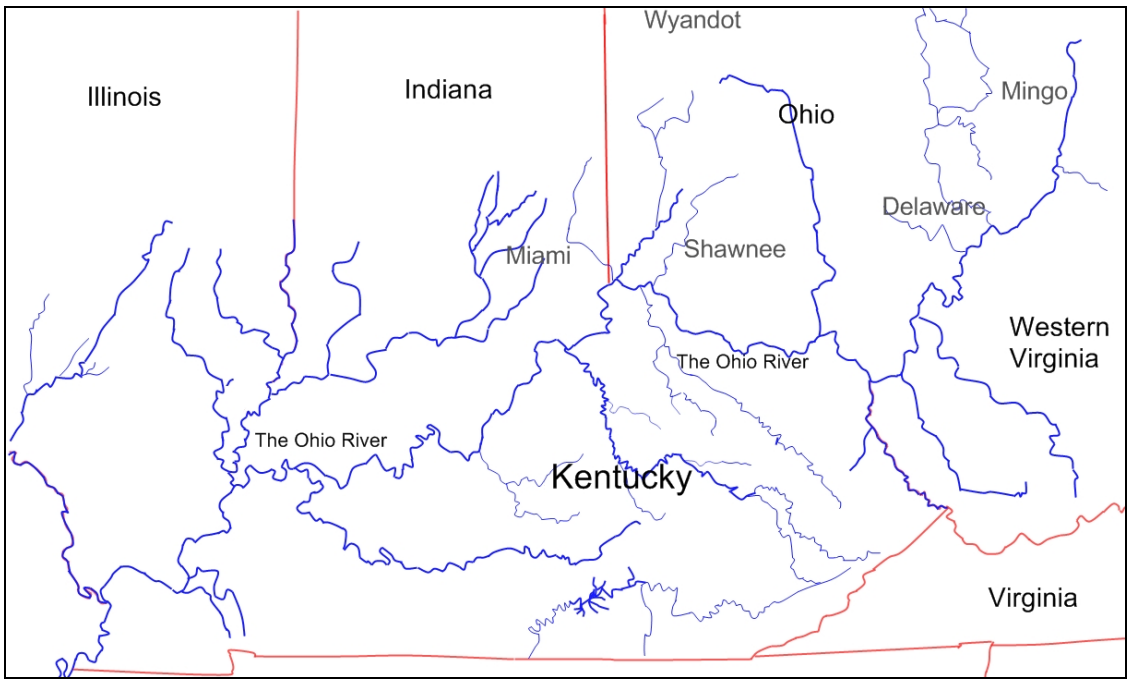
Declaration

This is to certify that this thesis was authored solely by Darren R. Reid. All references have been consulted by the author and the work of which this thesis is a record has been carried out by that same individual. This piece of work has not previously been accepted for a higher degree.

Darren R. Reid

Abstract

One of the most understudied frontiers, the Kentucky frontier was also one of the most violent. For twenty years this region was affected by a bloody war that came to involve the new settler population, numerous Indian tribes, the British, and the American government. More than a border war, the battle for Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian west came to define the communities which grew up in its midst, altering world views, attitudes, and compounding prejudices. It is the purpose of this thesis to accomplish two goals: first, this work will tackle the lack of recent scholarship on this region by providing a detailed history of the Kentucky frontier during the American Revolution and its subsequent period. The second goal of this thesis is to study, analyse and understand how the violence generated by the war with the Indians helped to shape settler society. By thinking of violence not purely as the result of other, more potent social forces – racism, economic fears, competition for land – it is possible to study and understand its formative impact upon early American society. From the short term development of vendetta fuelled warfare to the long term impact this war had upon relations between white and Native America, the war for the trans-Appalachian west saw violence taking on a particularly important, particularly formative role.



Map of Kentucky and the surrounding country

Introduction

September, 1786. Under the command of Benjamin Logan over three hundred settlers departed the hotly contested borderland of Kentucky, bound for the Indian territories north of the Ohio River. This movement of civilians was not an attempt to the settle the northern part of the country. Nor was it an attempt to explore, scout, or chart the Indians' remaining lands. Instead, Logan's forces crossed the Ohio River with the intention of attacking, defeating and – hopefully – crippling the Indian tribes with whom the settlers of the trans-Appalachian west had been locked in an unrestricted war for more than a decade.[1] By the time Logan led his followers into Ohio thousands of settlers had been killed, injured, or taken into captivity during the course of the frontier war.[2] Like the other settler campaigns which had been launched against the Indians since the outbreak of hostilities, Logan's campaign had been designed to push the war's centre of gravity away from the burgeoning settlements of the frontier – of central Kentucky, western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, and Tennessee – and into the Indian's heartland. In this regard, however, the expedition was largely a failure.[3] A few minor skirmishes and casualties aside, the Indians had simply evacuated their towns ahead of the advancing settlers, denying them the chance to inflict the defeat they so desperately sought. Instead, Logan and his followers had to settle for a paltry number of prisoners, mostly women, children and the elderly, who had been discovered in the otherwise deserted townships upon which they had marched.[4]

Thus denied the opportunity to engage their enemies, it was not unusual for settlers to visit their frustrations upon their prisoners. In this context the actions taken by Hugh McGary during this campaign were not extraordinary. His victim, an elderly chief named Moluntha, may have harboured pro-American sentiments, but to McGary all that seemed to matter was his affiliation with the Shawnee tribe, one of the most consistent and aggressive anti-settler groups in the Ohio valley.[5] According witnesses, McGary had attempted to interrogate the

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[1] William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the Life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC82-83

[2] John Mack Faragher *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), p. 144. For the perceived level of violence in 1786 alone see 'Appeal from the Inhabitants of Jefferson County, July 1786' Bullitt Family Papers A/B 937C, Box 6, Filson Historical Society

[3] R. Douglas Hurt *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720-1830* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 98-99

[4] William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the Life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC82-83

[5] The Shawnee, it should be noted, attempted to maintain peace throughout 1760s. However the gradual expansion of the settlers into their hunting grounds forced a change in policy which would see

chief over his involvement in the disastrous Battle of the Blue Licks fought four years earlier in Kentucky. Apparently, Moluntha – who was able to communicate only by patting his chest and saying the word 'Keeing,' probably a mispronunciation of King – had nodded passively in response to the settler's questions. Taking this as confirmation that the old chief had indeed been involved in the battle, McGary had become enraged at his prisoner, shouting 'd[am]n you, I will show you Blue Lick-play,' before smashing in the old man's skull with a tomahawk.[6] Unsurprisingly, this act was not McGary's first contact with the type of unrestricted violence which defined the war fought on the frontier between 1774 and 1795. Indeed, McGary was no stranger to warfare, conflict and loss and, since his arrival in the Kentucky country in the mid-1770s, a string of violent incidents had helped to turn McGary into the ruthless Indian fighter he now was.

August, 1782. Four years before Moluntha's murder, McGary had been present at the Blue Licks defeat, an episode which saw over one hundred and eighty Kentuckians absolutely defeated by a force of northern Indians supported by a small band of British rangers.[7] More than a defeat, the Blue Licks had been a disaster, the largest near-simultaneous loss of life to occur within the Kentucky country since the settlement of that region. Worse still, it had been McGary's unqualified desire to kill Indians that had led to this thrashing.[8] Shortly before the battle, Daniel Boone, an experienced woodsman, had warned the settlers that they were walking into a trap. McGary, however, had goaded his compatriots into marching against the Indians; 'let's fight them [and] They that ain't cowards follow me.'[9] It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that McGary referenced this defeat as he dashed out Moluntha's brains. The events of 1782 and 1786 were thus linked in McGary's mind, an indistinct series of happenings bound together by experience and perception that stretched back much further than even the disastrous Blue Licks affair. Throughout his time upon the frontier, McGary had been unable

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the Shawnee consistently aligned against the settlers from the outbreak of Dunmore's War until the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Edmunds *The Shawnee Prophet*, pp. 9-25 and Clark *The Shawnee* (LexingtsdsPress, 2007), pp. 72-90

[6] John D. Shane 'Interview with Isaac Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC3. For a discussion surrounding this episode please see Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 254

[7] E.A. Cruikshank *Butler's Rangers, The Revolutionary Period* (Welland: Tribune Printing, 1893), pp. 108-109

[8] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone' in Neil O. Hammon (ed.) *My Father, Daniel Boone: The Draper Interviews with Nathan Boone* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), pp. 75-78

[9] John D. Shane 'Interview with Jacob Stevens' Draper Manuscripts 12CC134. For details of this battle see also 'Letter from Daniel Boone to the Governor of Virginia, August 30th, 1782' in William P. Palmer *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784, Vol. 3* (Richmond: James E. Goode: 1883), pp. 275-276 and , and Peter Houston 'A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone' in Ted Franklin Belue (ed.) *A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone: A Memoir by Peter Houston* (Mechanicsburgh: Stackpole Books, 1997), pp. 23-26

to escape the war with the Indians and on an innumerable number of occasions he had found himself connected, directly and indirectly, to the fallout of the conflict.

March, 1777. Perhaps no single incident, however, had as large an impact upon him as the murder of his stepson in the precipitous year of 1777.[10] Although he had found – and executed – the Indian who killed the boy shortly after his murder, McGary was evidently left unsatisfied by this act of revenge; rather than scalping the Indian or committing some other act of hasty mutilation he had instead set about the lengthy and gory task of butchering, slicing, dicing, and ultimately feeding the body to the dogs at the township in which he lived.[11] If McGary's volatile reaction indicated the depth of his anger or anguish, then he was certainly not alone. Following the death of his stepson, McGary's wife confined herself to her bed where she appears to have wallowed in grief before finally dying a year later. To cap this episode, it even appears that McGary came to believe that he was haunted by his stepson's ghost, a 'spectre' that literally and figuratively reminded him of his shortcomings and the realities of life during a frontier war.[12] This is the context in which McGary's later actions – in both 1782 and 1786 – must be understood. McGary's actions may have been extreme, but they were not unique; the settlers' pasts informed their presents, and in many instances both were defined by violence, loss, and bloodletting. More than the product of war, acts of violence could be highly formative experiences, warping and shaping perceptions, sparking or reinforcing prejudices, and producing experiences, traumas, which individuals – and ultimately communities – would seek to redress in the future.

At both the individual and the communal level, contact with consistently high levels of violence had shaped and moulded the inhabitants of the frontier, influencing how they interpreted their past experiences, their present circumstances, and their future prospects. From how they conceptualised the Indians, to how they interpreted dreams, the environment, and even their relationships to one another, the settlers' understanding of their world was profoundly influenced by the impact of violence. This alteration in world views was a fundamental process which would have both short and long term consequences, expressed particularly in the shape of the society which the settlers constructed for themselves and the shape of their enduring attitude towards the Indians. Throughout this thesis the role played by

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[10] For the perceived state of the settlements in Kentucky this year see 'Petition from Hugh McGary to the Honourable Speaker & Gentleman of the House of Delegates, December 1st, 1777' in James Rood Robertson (ed.) *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769-1792* (Louisville: John P. Morton & Company, 1914), pp. 42-43, 'Journal of William Calk' Calk Family Collection 2005M14, Kentucky Historical Society and Otis K. Rice *Frontier Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), pp. 88-94

[11] John D. Shane 'Interview with Jacob Stevens' Draper Manuscripts 12CC135

[12] John D. Shane 'Interview with Sarah Graham' Draper Manuscripts 12CC45 and Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 147

violence as a formative force will thus be studied in relation to the development of settler society in the trans-Appalachian region – particularly Kentucky. Rather than thinking of violence as a consequence – the result of racism, economic competition, or disputes over land ownership – its ability to shape and mould society will be at the core of this study. Put simply, violence was not necessarily an aftermath or symptom of other underlying social forces but an active entity in its own right which influenced settler society from the bottom-up.

It is not being argued here that when McGary sunk his tomahawk into Moluntha's skull he was doing so in any way for his lost stepchild per se, but rather that the connection can instead be found in a social context which had helped to shape him and which he, in turn, had helped to shape. The violence generated by the war often forced individuals to react. Sometimes those reactions made sense: marching into Ohio in large numbers in an attempt to force the northern tribes to end their hostilities. Other times – dicing the remains of the man who killed your stepson and then feeding them to the dogs – those reactions were fundamentally personal in nature. Either way, they could inspire further acts of violence in their wake, fuelling much of the fighting that defined the war for the trans-Appalachian country. None of the events in McGary's life stood in isolation, each having been built upon the last, a chain of violence which had shaped, affected, and defined the man; aside from the incidents highlighted here, he seemingly took every available opportunity to confront his new enemies.[13] To be sure, his life is a severe example of this process but for all that it was hardly distinct. All across the frontier individuals on both sides reacted, sometimes very strongly indeed, to the violence which marred their daily existence.

As a collective attempt to avenge years of past raids and attacks, Logan's campaign was, in many ways, the communal equivalent of Mountha's murder. The overall campaign may have lacked the coldblooded brutality of McGary's attack, but its purpose was broadly comparable. Like every other member of that ad hoc army, McGary had found himself departing his home in order to confront the Indians. As with his compatriots, McGary had volunteered for this campaign not because some whim or personal fancy had inspired him to do so, but because a complex personal history had helped lead him towards making that decision. Of course personal agency had its role to play and McGary, like his fellow combatants, made a conscious decision to volunteer for the campaign, or at any rate not to desert. However, other forces – equally powerful – to which he and his contemporaries were largely oblivious had already laid a groundwork which would make McGary's decision to take

[13] Joseph P. Elliot *A History of Evansville and Vanderburgh County, Indiana: A Complete and Concise Account from the Earliest Times to the Present, Embracing Reminiscences of the Pioneers and Biographical Sketches of the Men Who Have Been Leaders in Commercial and Other Enterprises* (Evansville: Keller Printing Company, 1897), pp. 25-29

part in this expedition much more likely, if not exactly inevitable. More than a decade of attacks, confrontations, atrocities, and wartime experiences had shaped McGary into the individual he now was, and it was that individual – a product of his wartime experiences – who had volunteered for the opportunity to hunt, kill, and destroy Indians. Similarly, thousands of individuals living in Kentucky had, by the mid-1780s, long and complex personal histories which had been fundamentally shaped and moulded by violence. Lost relatives, companions, and scalps were the obvious fallout of the frontier war, but those who survived carried with them memories, interpretations, and new perspectives formed by these events. When Logan called for volunteers to march into Ohio in 1786, many of those affected by the war marched under his banner. The settlers were the sum total of their violent experiences, and those experiences would lead them to pursue new opportunities for further conflict and hostilities.[14]

On the trans-Appalachian frontier of the late eighteenth century, violence was not merely a side effect of war, but a potent force which drove many of the individual confrontations which made up the overall conflict. Although the war for the Kentucky frontier was initially driven by a confrontation over who controlled the territory, it quickly developed into something else as entrenched settlers and Indians began initiating campaigns, or personal vendettas, which were driven instead by their personal experiences with violence. From a top down perspective, the war for the Kentucky and wider trans-Appalachian territories can be seen or interpreted as the result of a number of potent socio-cultural forces; issues over landownership, the outbreak of the American Revolution, and continuing Euro-American expansion over the continent all played a role. However, when one instead analyses the war for Kentucky from the bottom-up, a distinct set of forces responsible for not only the perpetuation of the war, but its escalation, can also be identified. When Hugh McGary diced up the body of his stepson's murderer, his motives cannot be explained by top-down thinking. Similarly, when he led the charge at the Blue Licks it was not the Revolution, a proto-concept of the manifest destiny, or a desire to increase the value of his lands (by removing their principle threat), which appears to have driven him – and his followers – forward. Among both the settlers and the Indians, individuals affected by violence often attempted to revisit harm with harm and, in this way, drove the war forward. More accurately, at least among the

[14] For a record of the sheer extent of fighting in Kentucky see the John D. Shane's interviews with former settlers – these are contained in volumes 11CC, 12CC, 13CC, 14CC, 15CC, 16CC and 17CC of the Draper manuscripts. For an analysis of how the conflict was reflected in these accounts please see the dénouement of this thesis. Other sources worth consulting for an impression of how widespread the war was during this period include 'An Open Letter from Henry Knox on the Causes of the Indian War (I),' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 23rd, 1792, pp. 1-2, 'An Open Letter from Henry Knox on the Causes of the Indian War (II),' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 30th, 1792, p. 2, 'Letter from Annie Christian to Elizabeth Christian, August 17th, 1787' Bullitt Family Papers A/B937c, Filson Historical Society and 'Appeal for Aid Against the Indians, a Petition to the Inhabitants of Lincoln and Fayette Counties, July 1786' Bullitt Family Papers A/B 937c, Filson Historical Society

settlers, harm was often revisited with excessive or disproportionate levels of retributive violence; one death did not necessarily demand only one murder in return. The result was a spiral of conflict which escalated as settlers and Indians alike sought to atone for past losses, sometimes proportionately, sometimes disproportionately. This resulting spiral of war became a social force unto its self, a self perpetuating mechanism which would drive the war in Kentucky long after the conclusion of the American Revolution. More than mere historical actors, the settlers and the Indians who fought to control Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian west were the engine of the frontier war and as such it is the forces which drove them to fight – for over twenty continuous years – that are of the greatest importance when this war is analysed and studied.

Attitudes formed as the result of attacks – or physical violations – upon the settlers helped to fundamentally inform the world views, cosmologies and cultural expectations of individuals and communities alike. Like McGary, a broad spectrum of the frontier's population was exposed to events which would guide how they interpreted and reacted to the continued violence which unfurled around them. McGary's murder of Moluntha did not occur in a vacuum, nor was it an isolated incident.[15] Instead, his actions must be seen as the sum total of his personal experiences to that date, the latest reaction to a social context which had forced McGary, along with many others on the frontier, to adapt to the specific challenges of the world in which he lived. The actions of the individual are tied to their understanding of the past and, in the context of the late eighteenth century Ohio Valley, past experiences were often inseparably bound to warfare with the Indians. Moreover, individuals make up communities, communities make up societies, and ultimately, cultural patterns are generated within such social organisations. Put simply, violence is not a single event but a process which begins with a physical confrontation which can, given the correct conditions, lead society towards its own future acts of aggression (see figure 1). In the specific case of Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian west, over two decades of continuous violence served to inform both the individual and the larger community, providing ample reason for both to continue, and even escalate, the frontier war. Although the American Revolution and Dunmore's War had served to catalyse the fighting in this region, the conflict which took place in this territory was neither defined nor limited by these geo-political struggles. Instead the struggle for the Kentucky and trans-Appalachian frontiers developed as a parallel to these wars, the fighting concurrent rather than co-dependent. Indeed, the system of ground-up fighting which perpetuated the frontier war was so distinct from the American Revolution that hostilities

[15] For examples of this type of reactionary violence in a broader backcountry and oral history context see Raymond W. Thorp and Robert Bunker *Crow Killer: The Saga of Liver-Eating Johnson* (1958; reprint, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 43-48

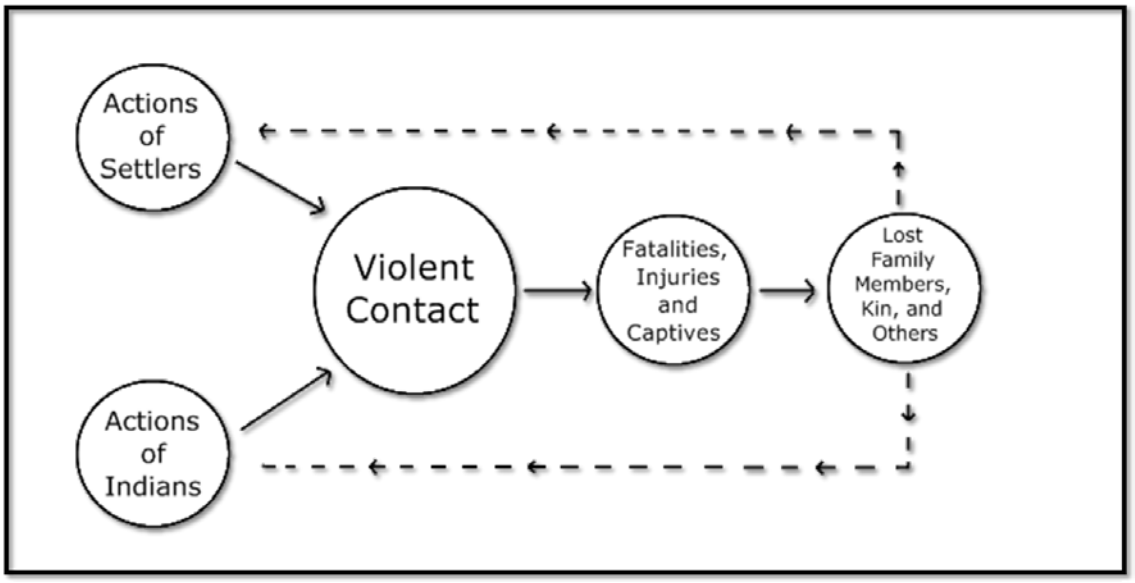

Figure 1 – Illustration of the role the violent episode, as a contact point, played in affecting the actions of both settlers and Indians. In this model experiences in combat affect the later actions of both parties whilst the experiences, real and perceived, of others also influence the attitudes, and hence later actions, of the warring parties.

continued even when treaty makers and politicians brought the larger conflict to a close. Settlers and Indians alike may have been associated with larger political forces, but they each fought for their own best interests, not those of some abstract body of power.[16]

From a particular top-down perspective the battle for the Ohio Valley can be explained simply as a conflict over relentless Euro-American expansion across the continent, but even this all encompassing explanation fails to effectively explain the nature and shape of the resultant war. Why, for instance, did the war come to an end in 1795 when the question of American expansion in the Ohio Valley was far from being answered? Moreover, why did the war come to an end when there remained a significant Indian population north of the Ohio River, an area which was already drawing thousands of settlers to it by the conclusion of the conflict? Evidently, American expansion did not inevitably lead to warfare – even if this was

[16] The relationship, for instance, between the Indians and the British is often emphasised to the point where it is sometimes placed above the Indians' own goals and aspirations – see Rice *Frontier Kentucky*, Ted Franklin Belue *The Hunters of Kentucky: A Narrative History of America's First Far West* (Mechanicsburgh: Stackpole books, 2003), pp. 171-172 and Phillip W. Hoffman *Simon Girty, Turncoat Hero: The Most Hated Man on the Early American Frontier* (Franklin: American History Imprints, 2009). For a study which seeks to balance the agency of these groups see Alan Taylor *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2007)

often the case.[17] Though top-down explanations can offer insights into the various factors which catalysed frontier conflicts, they fail to account for the specific circumstances which defined the war in the Kentucky country. Understanding why the fighting was as brutal as it was in this region, why it ended when it did, and why it continued even when the geo-political struggles which initiated it came to an end requires an understanding of the ground-up forces which drove the day-to-day, month-to-month, and year-to-year fighting which comprised the larger war. Broad, sweeping forces such as geo-political struggles and resistance to American expansion certainly played a role in starting the war for the Kentucky and trans-Appalachian territories, but the indiscriminate violence which these conflicts generated was a potent force in its own right which would go on to drive the broader struggle within these regions. From the ground-up, violence would inspire countless vendettas which, collectively, culminated in an intercultural feud. More than the physical expression of war, the violence which appeared in Kentucky had served to fuel the conflict.

Typically, however, violence is analysed only as a side effect of conflict, or of jilted honour, the influence of masculinity, as a consequence of imported border cultures, or as a component of inter-bodily contact.[18] In his edited volume *Men and Violence*, Pieter Spierenburg examines the relationship between society and violence, arguing that the former sets limits and conditions for the latter. However, Spierenburg never attempts to reverse his baser assumptions and concepts by asking whether violence could help to shape or alter accepted social norms. In Spierenburg's interpretation, society takes on the role of a controlling mechanism, limiting outbursts and even the methods through which violent interactions are expressed.[19] Such arguments – in the context of the specific examples he

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[17] David T. Courtwright *Violent Land: Single Men and Social Disorder from the Frontier to the Inner City* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 55-73, 85 and John D. Unruh *The Plains Across: Emigrants, Wagon Trains and the American West, 1840-1860* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 98, 120-130

[18] Courtwright *Violent Land*, David Hackett Fischer *Albion's Seed: Four British Folk Ways in America* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1989), Grady McWhiney *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988) and Pieter Spierenburg (ed.) *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998)

[19] Pieter Spiernburgh 'Masculinity, Violence and Honor: An Introduction' in Pieter Spierenburg (ed.) *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), p. 2, 9-10, similarly Amy Sophia Greenberg, in the same volume, emphasises the role of society as a limiting factor that helps to restrain violence, whereas Stephen Kantrowitz looks at how society uses violence as a tool to enforce its own rules and social norms. Although these arguments are interesting they fail to examine how the violence in these particular studies could have potentially affected their host societies in turn. Amy Sophia Greenberg 'Fights/Fires: Violent Firemen in the Nineteenth-Century American City' in Pieter Spierenburg (ed.) *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), pp. 163-165, and Stephen Kantrowitz 'White Supremacist Justice and the Rule of Law: Lynching, Honor, and the State

gives – are certainly persuading but, as general concepts designed to explain the relationship between violence and society, they are quite limited. The relationship between violence and society is dynamic, not unilateral, with both of these components exerting forces upon one another. Additionally, Spierenburg's definition of violence is unnecessarily restrictive, placing artificial conditions upon it which limit potential analysis. In his introduction to the volume, he defines acts of violence strictly as acts of aggression which affect the body, and, though this argument is not without some merit, it fails to acknowledge the full spectrum of violent experiences.[20] Acts of violence are transitory phenomena often lasting little more than a few hurried seconds or minutes. However, the effects of violence can last for much greater periods of time, often long outlasting the original act. The physical act, then, is only one component in a much longer process. Violence leaves its scars upon the body, true, but it can also leave its mark upon the mind.[21]

Like Spierenburg, Linda Colley – in her study of the international captivity experience – defines violence strictly in terms of the body without ever fully justifying this self-imposed limitation. In her reading of frontier violence, attacks by Indians upon the 'bodies' of settlers, were, for the Indians initiating them, attacks upon Britain itself.[22] But her addition of 'body' as a qualifier is never appropriately explained beyond its use as a text to be read and there is little discussion as to whether or not this recurrent practice is necessarily appropriate. Like Jill Lepore who, in her study of King Philip's War, argues that the settlers had an inherent advantage in any frontier conflict owing to their use of the pen as a propaganda weapon, Colley emphasises the readings conducted by contemporaries upon texts – particularly bodies – at the expense of the actual relationship between the individual, society, and the violent interactions which they encountered.[23] Lepore makes an insightful point when she argues that wars produce both bodies and documents, but they also produce persons who are widowed,

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in Ben Tillman's South Carolina' in Pieter Spierenburg (ed.) *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), pp. 220-221

[20] Spiernburgh 'Masculinity, Violence and Honor,' pp. 4-5

[21] To separate the body and mind when one discusses violence and warfare is a self defeating proposition. Over the course of the twentieth, twenty first and even parts of the nineteenth centuries, it has become increasingly clear that the body is not the only thing which can sustain wounds during warfare. The Cambridge Dictionary, for instance, defines violence not with respect to physical contact, but in far broader terms which accept that violence is not necessarily a physical phenomenon ('Violence *noun*. 1. Actions or words which are intended to hurt people. 2. Extreme force'). See Eric T. Dean, Jr. *Shook Over Hell: Post-Traumatic Stress, Vietnam, And the Civil War* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1999), Cambridge Dictionary Online (http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/violence, Retrieved 18/06/2010, 11:48am)

[22] Linda Colley *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850* (New York: Anchor Books, 2004), p. 12

[23] Jill Lepore *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), pp. x-xii and Colley *Captives*, p. 8-15

orphaned, terrorised, or connected to the fighting through some other ancillary mechanisms.[24] In these cases, persons are conditioned not by the reporting of war, and certainly not by the written word, but by their own direct and indirect experiences with the fighting – this is something historians should not forget. Deconstruction of the body and an emphasis upon the written word can have its benefits, but it can also deflect from the interaction which occurred between violence and the mind. By qualifying settler or captive 'bodies' Colley is, at least on some level, drawing a clear distinction between attacks upon the body, and attacks upon the mind. This assumption, in turn, suggests that violations of one do not necessarily affect the other. As a baser assumption, this is inherently problematic as it creates a separation that did not exist, and even Colley herself demonstrates that she is sensitive to this on several occasions, a practice which makes the recurring qualification of 'bodies' all the more jarring.[25] Most importantly, her analysis of the captivity narrative as a method of cultural transmission, transferring the experiences of captives to a larger public, is certainly insightful but to suggest that contemporaries read only bodily damage in these documents, enjoying the descriptions as a type of 'pornography,' is both contentious and difficult to sustain.[26]

Of course, arguing that contemporaries read these sources in a different manner is equally problematic. At the very least, however, it is necessary to acknowledge that these narratives can be interpreted in such as a way as to demonstrate that the authors of these documents wished to impart more to their audience than a mere 'pornography' of physical violation. In her often studied captivity narrative, Mary Rowland's confession that her experience among the Indians quite literally kept her awake at night suggests that this victim counted physical abuse as only one consequence of her captivity among the Indians. As she put it, 'I can remember the time, when I used to sleep quietly without working in my thoughts, whole nights together; but now it is other ways with me.' One can only speculate as to how Rowlandson's husband felt about this nocturnal change in his wife.[27] Moreover, this

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[24] Lepore *The Name of War*, pp. x-xxii

[25] For a Discussion of the enslavement process as a (mental) trauma, see Colley *Captives*, pp. 55-56, and for a discussion of the impact of fear, an inherently internalised emotional response not necessarily attached to any direct bodily experience, with particular reference to Braddock's Defeat in the Seven Years War, see Colley *Captives*, pp. 179

[26] Colley *Captives*, p. 177

[27] Mary Rowlandson *A Narrative of the Captivity, Suffering, and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, Who was Taken Prisoner by the Indian; with Several Others; and Treated in the Most Barbarous and Cruel Manner by the Wild Savages: With Many Other Remarkable Events During her Travels. Written by her Own Hand, for her Private Use, and Since Made Public at the Earnest Desire of Some Friends, and for the Benefit of the Afflicted* (Boston: Massachusetts School Society, 1856), p. 118. For examples of discussion surrounding Rowlandson's narrative see Tiffany Porter 'Writing Indigenous Femininity: Mary Rowlandson's Narrative of Captivity' *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 36 (2003): 153-167, Teresa A. Toulouse '"My Own Credit": Strategies of (E)valuation in Mary Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative' *American Literature*, Vol. 64 (1992): 655-676, and Pamela Lougheed '"Then He Began to Rant and

confession suggests a belief that such an admission would elicit a sympathetic response among her readers, suggesting that they would be able to empathise with her – as an individual – even though her bodily violations were few in number. Instead of direct physical abuse, Rowlandson's greatest victimhood comes from losing her personal autonomy for a period of time, and her internalisation of the abuses and deaths suffered by her fellow settlers and family members. True, there is an argument to be made that it was the violation of other bodies which defined her experience, but there is also a strong argument to be made that Rowlandson defined herself among her readership not merely as a conduit for the suffering of others but as a person who had suffered in her own right through the loss of her 'sweet babe' of a child and her post-restoration bouts of insomnia.[28] There can be no doubt that victims of physical abuse stirred strong emotions among contemporaries but to argue that victims of other, non-bodily abuses did not receive empathy raises some serious theoretical questions.[29]

By limiting one's study to that of the body, one implies that the lasting effects of certain encounters upon the mind – and their related impact upon a person's social outlook and worldly expectations – are of little consequence. This is, however, a problematic set of assumptions from which to begin studying the relationship between violence and society. When a large cross section of a given community is affected by warfare or conflict the experiences and alterations in the individual can potentially become the experiences and alterations of society. As Spierenburg correctly argues, society sets rules by which violent encounters are executed, but – taking this argument further – large scale exposure to conflict can alter society and its baser assumptions, and thus alter the social relationship between the group, the individual, and the conflict.[30] The conscious separation of the body from the abstraction that is the individual appears to be an unnecessary qualification which necessarily excludes the effects of non-physical violence. Psychological warfare is not an alien concept in the modern world and though the phrase may be comparatively new, evidence of it can, nonetheless, be identified in sources generated by frontier hostilities.[31] In his study of the Seven Years War, Matthew C. Ward makes this argument and, in so doing, goes some way

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Threaten": Indian Malice and Individual Liberty in Mary Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative' *American Literature*, Vol. 74 (2002): 287-313

[28] Rowlandson *A Narrative of the Captivity, Suffering, and Removed of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, pp. 19, 118-119

[29] In this regard both Philippe Ariès and Lawrence Stone have cast long shadows, but their interpretation of empathy towards other individuals is a subject which will be specifically challenged in Chapter Five of this thesis. For a discussion on the lasting impact of Ariès thesis see Richard T. Vann 'The Youth of Centuries of Childhood' *History and Theory*, Vol. 21 (1982): 279-297

[30] Spiernburgh 'Masculinity, Violence and Honor,' pp. 9-10

[31] This thesis will present evidence to that effect in Chapter Two. For a discussion on the development of psychological concepts of warfare throughout the twentieth century see Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely *Shell Shock to PTSD: Military Psychiatry from 1900 to the Gulf War* (New York: Psychology Press, 2005)

towards reconnecting the mind and the body.[32] But even in cases where conscious psychological warfare appears to be absent, it should be understood that on some level, all warfare is psychological. When one studies violence the body cannot be studied in isolation. The human body is nothing without the mind just as the converse is also true. Put simply, when studying the history of violence, one should not look upon the human body at the expense of the human being.

Similarly, associating violence too closely with one specific gender can also be problematic as violence does not necessarily have an inherent relationship with a given sex. David T. Courtwright in his study of violence in America – *Violent Land* – focuses upon what he believes to be a natural link between masculinity and conflict, the result of a theoretical understanding which is steeped heavily in evolutionary psychology.[33] Where Courtwright identifies large amounts of violence in a particular context he thus also identifies a hyper-masculine society. While there are certainly merits to such an argument his strict theoretical position limits any questions regarding the impact violence had, in its own un-gendered right, upon society. Courtwright's interpretation does not give violence in society any particular power, only the men within it and an increase in violence would hence mark, as Courtwright argues, increased male domination.[34] The issue being identified here is that Courtwright's argument suggests that societies can only become more violent when they become hyper-masculine and, superficially, most frontiers – including the Kentucky frontier – appear to fit that description. However, women were far from powerless entities on the frontier and, in many instances, they could drive violence and conflict forward in their own right.[35] The necessities of war on the frontier often forced certain gender barriers into retreat. In particular, attacks upon frontier forts quite naturally involved every person within the stockade, but not necessarily as victims. Women were often found in non-traditional roles running bullets, firing weapons, sometimes dressing as men, but most importantly they were instigators of fighting when they repeatedly – and apparently with some regularity – shamed 'cowards' into joining the fray.[36] Of course, there were marked differences in the roles played by men and women on the frontier, but even with this being the case women often took surprising and sometimes prominent roles, not only in actual combat situations but as

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[32] Matthew C. Ward *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1767* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), p. 44
[33] Courtwright *Violent Land*, pp. 7-9
[34] ibid, pp. 3-7
[35] Elizabeth A. Perkins *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 141-146
[36] John D. Shane 'Interview with Nathaniel Hart' Draper Manuscripts 17CC191-209 and Stephen Aron *How the West was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 34-35

instigators of violent episodes.[37] Native American women, for instance, could demand physical retribution for the loss of a child in the form of a prisoner, to be killed or adopted at their discretion. In such cases it may well have been parties of men who engaged in the actual combat, but it was women who set the beat to which those warriors, and their enemies, had to dance.[38]

Honour, too, is another recurring theme in the historiography of backcountry violence with Spierenburg and his collaborators, David Courtwright, and Elliot J. Gorn, among others, all drawing heavily upon – and adding to – this idea.[39] There can be no doubt from the rich scholarship which has developed around this subject that honour was an integral part of many violent interactions but, as tempting as it can be, one must move beyond this social condition when examining intercultural conflict in the Ohio Valley. As enlightening as studies of honour often are, they can – if applied without qualification to an inappropriate context – be just as limiting. Hugh McGary's murder of Moluntha, for instance, could be interpreted as having undertones of dented honour but his actions are far better explained when the role of honour is minimised and the longer impact of violence is emphasised. Honour certainly played a role in some conflicts, particularly those between settlers – although evidence for honour based fighting in Kentucky during the late eighteenth century is surprisingly thin on the ground – but it was rarely a significant force in driving the settlers and the Indians to arms against one another.[40] Daniel Boone, for instance, was widely believed by his family to have shot and

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[37] John D. Shane 'Interview with Martin Wymore' Draper Manuscripts 11CC128-132

[38] Theda Perdue *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), pp. 49-51

[39] Elliot J. Gorn '"Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch": The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90 (1985): 18-43, pp. 18-22, Spierenburg (ed.) *Men and Violence,* Courtwright *Violent Land*, pp. 28-29, and Kenneth S. Greenberg 'The Nose, the Lie, and the Duel in the Antebellum South' *American Historical* Review, Vol. 95 (1990): 57-74

[40] One of the only instances of an honour-inspired conflict appeared in the *Kentucky Gazette* in the late summer of 1790. In this 'sunrise...duel' one man was killed and another injured. One set of sources which consistently suggests honour-inspired combat was relatively common in the backcountry are traveller accounts, a source set which Elliot J. Gorn liberally employed in his study of 'rough and tumble' frontier fighting. Traveller accounts, however, are far from problematic sources and a certain difficulty occurs when one attempts to square these accounts with other primary source material. Elias Pym Fordham, on his travels through the west in the nineteenth century, describes how Kentuckians – apparently – turned to pistols and dirks alike in order to settle arguments, an idea perfectly consistent with Gorn's thesis. However, it is worth noting that the period Fordham describes takes place following the conclusion of the war with the Indians. Indeed, Gorn's paper is very vague when it comes to suggesting which periods his thesis is best applied to and it is worth noting that his work fails to account for how Indian wars may or may not impact intra-white violence. There was certainly strife among the settlers of Kentucky, but at least during the period of the frontier war, the rough and tumble fighting Gorn describes was not as widespread his paper suggests. For 'sunrise...duel' see *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), August 2nd, 1790, p. 3, see also Gorn 'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch,' pp. 23-25 and Elias Pym Fordham and Frederic Austin Ogg (ed.) *Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), pp. 180-181

killed a defenceless Indian he had found fishing upon a river bank following the disappearance, and presumed murder, of his brother-in-law and best friend, John Stewart. According to Boone's son, Nathan, 'he saw an Indian fishing, sitting upon the part of a fallen tree projecting over the water, and he afterward simply said, "While I was looking at him he tumbled into the river and I saw no more of him." It was understood from the way in which he spoke of it that he had shot and killed the Indian; yet he seemed not to care about alluding particularly to it.'[41] Boone acted, in this instance, not to restore any dented honour on his or anyone else's part but to avenge a fallen companion. Apparently there was no honour to be had in boasting about this or any of the other deaths he was responsible for.[42]

Concepts such as honour are often employed in order to explain how society managed, controlled and even generated violence. However some historians have attempted to demonstrate that past experiences with violence have had, at least some, formative effect upon the shape of society, most notably David Hackett Fischer in his expansive work on cultural transference from Britain to America, *Albion's Seed.* The issue with Fischer's interpretation of the violence-society relationship is that it tends to depict cultures affected by violence as relatively unchanging entities which can be transplanted from one region to another without undergoing significant changes.[43] Indeed, the underlying thesis behind *Albion's Seed* is that modern day American culture can essentially be traced back to just four British folk ways which were transferred, almost wholesale, to colonial America. In the case of the backcountry, Fischer identifies a British border culture made up of lowland Scots, Irish, and border English whose experiences of borderland warfare – a tradition which, Fischer controversially argues, lasted for centuries – was transferred to colonial America where it was replicated on the frontier.[44] There are, however, a number of serious issues with these arguments. For one, Fischer depicts a British borderland culture which exaggerates the extent to which violence affected this group, offering a false impression of something close to a warrior culture steeped in combat and animosity which was then transplanted to the American

[41] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 32
[42] ibid, p. 78
[43] This statement requires qualification as Fischer does indeed account for some change over time, particularly between the original British folk ways which he identifies and the American cultures they would later underpin. However, Fischer also describes a border culture which – in Britain – showed no real sensitivity to the altering level of violence which surrounded it. Although societies can be informed by violence – indeed, during times of serious conflict or war, they can be defined by it – the cessation of hostilities allowed for the legacy of conflict to be maintained and expressed in ways more subtle than the creation of a two-dimensional warrior class – this will be demonstrated in the dénouement of this thesis. Fischer *Albion's Seed*, pp. 612-621
[44] Fischer *Albion's Seed*, p. 634-635

backcountry.[45] This group of borderers, Fischer argues, created a cultural hegemony that dominated other minority groups in the region, thus removing the agency of frontier violence. According to this argument, the violence of the frontier was not the result of local conditions but instead found its roots in century old conflicts institutionalised and moved to a new geographic locale. Quite aside from the serious issues relating to Fischer's interpretation of violence in the British borderlands, the idea that something akin to a warrior society develops when violence is applied to a given social group is too simplistic. Though this thesis is arguing that violence shapes society, it is specifically identifying social outlooks, world views, and cultural expectations as its principle fodder for modification. To be sure, cultural animosity generated by the frontier war would continue to shape how the settlers perceived the Indians well into the nineteenth century, particularly with regards to the issue of their removal, but it did not breed the type of society one would expect had Fischer's interpretation of violence and culture held true. Similarly, Grady McWhiney's *Cracker Culture* is equally problematic, arguing, as it does, that attitudes towards violence in the southern colonies were the result of a 'Celtic' cultural transference from the British Isles.[46] Once again, the idea that the conflict which dominated the backcountry had, essentially, been imported from Britain is problematic and, though the cultural impact of groups such as the Scots and the Irish should not be dismissed, it must be handled with care.[47] It certainly should not be emphasised to the point where the agency and actions of the North America's aboriginal population is all but deemed irrelevant.

Violence, then, is rarely viewed on its own terms – not as a cultural aftermath, but as a social starting point. When it is treated as a force capable of shaping society, historians tend to make this argument in the context of wholesale cultural transference from mainland Britain to the colonies. Rather than being informed by their violent pasts, historians such as Fischer and McWhiney instead argue that groups such as the Scots and the Irish were absolutely defined by them. Markus Rediker, however, presents an alternative, more nuanced approach to conceptualising early modern subcultures in his study of eighteenth century merchant mariners. In his work, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, Rediker describes an eloquent process which allowed a lower class maritime subculture to develop in the trans-Atlantic world which emphasised collective experience over ethnic origins. Throughout his work, Rediker convincingly argues that this subculture was the product of two specific pressure

[45] Ned C. Landsman 'Border Cultures, the Backcountry, and "North British" Emigration to America' *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 48 (1991): 253-259, pp. 254-256 and Fishcer *Albion's Seed*, p. 628
[46] Grady McWhiney *Cracker Culture*, pp. 147-173
[47] It should be noted that Kentucky hosted a wide range of different immigrant groups in addition to those from the British mainland, such as Germanic immigrants and a significant number of French Huguenots. Marco Sioli 'Huguenot Traditions in the Mountains of Kentucky: Daniel Trabue's Memories' *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 84 (1998): 1313-1333

points between which seafaring men, both as individuals and as a community, had to live, operate, and, most importantly, adapt. In Rediker's specific case study, the two pressure points which he identifies are the autocratic powers wielded by a ship's captain, and the environmental hardships and dangers posed by life on the ocean.[48] For Rediker, the cultural birthplace of a given sea farer was unimportant compared to these two principle pressure points. Unlike Fischer and McWhiney, Rediker proposes a model for society which accounts for not only cultural changes, but even cultural creation. In this case, Rediker demonstrates how excessive use of a captain's near-unrestricted authority led to the development of a distinct early eighteenth century pirate culture.[49] Of course, the creation of maritime subcultures is a very specific study but the concept Ridiker employs – that cultures are shaped and created by both their environment and the actions of other human beings who wield significant, even life or death, levels of power – is an important one. Indeed, it is particularly relevant in any context where similar pressure points can be identified.

Where Rediker's argument is somewhat limited is in its identification of only two cultural pressure points. Of course, Rediker is identifying the two specific conditions which he believed formed the basis of a maritime subculture but it is important, nonetheless, to at least acknowledge that other conditions, or pressure points – such as the political sphere, the economy, and existing concepts of identity – all would have played some role in forming the subculture's final shape. The issue is not that cultures and communities form between two given points. Rather, they form between spectrums of such points, some of which were unique to a given context, some of which were more typical of the early modern trans-Atlantic world. Where Rediker succeeds is in demonstrating that his chosen two pressure points acted as the principle forces behind the reshaping of his subjects' distinctive world views.[50] Similarly, upon the frontier an array of cultural influences from the colonies and Europe helped to inform settler society, but conditions which were not only distinct to the region, but pronounced by circumstance and necessity, helped to create a context which gave this time and place – and the people who lived there – a distinct character from the rest of early America. The presence of a significant wilderness posed a major challenge to many settlers. It increased the amount of labour required to initiate farming activities, limited mobility, offered some resources in abundance whilst denying others, and provided an environment which allowed one's enemies the opportunity to travel extensively without detection. As important as these conditions were, the wildernesses was not a distinct characteristic of the

[48] Markus Rediker *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 5-10
[49] Rediker *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, pp. 254-287
[50] ibid, pp. 5, 254-287

trans-Appalachian west alone. However, the frontier war which affected this region did serve to compound many of the challenges posed by such an environment whilst providing significantly more of its own. Violence alone did not shape society in locales such as Kentucky, but it was the most important of the region's distinctive pressure points. The wilderness, though less distinct, served as another and together they amounted to a socio-cultural ecosystem that was more than the sum of its parts.

Violent interactions thus became one of the most significant contact points – to commandeer a turn of phrase utilized by Andrew R. L Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute – between the settlers and the Indians of the Ohio Valley.[51] Prior to 1774 the frontier was hardly a stranger to intercultural violence, particularly after the outbreak of the Seven Years War. However, for much of the eighteenth century a spectrum of other contact points had helped to facilitate a wide range of non-violent interactions between the settlers and the Indians. In his study of go-between culture in the Pennsylvania backcountry, James H. Merrell demonstrates that violence did not need to become the principle contact point between these two groups. In Merrell's work the go-betweens effectively function as contact points, or cultural bridges, allowing two very different peoples the opportunity to interact successfully. But even in this context, much of the work carried out by Merrell's go-betweens involved the aversion of violence, or the abatement of tensions. Thus, it is easy to see how the lack of an effective go-between class, particularly when combined with the contentious issue of land ownership, could lead to the resumption of the type of highly personalised warfare Jane Merritt identified in her monograph *At the Crossroads*.[52] Moreover, the continued presence of go-betweens operating between the British and Indian spheres during the American Revolution served to compound the development of conflict on frontier from the 1770s onwards. Rather than alleviating tensions between settlers and Indians, the Revolution instead saw this same group consciously escalating them.[53]

Even as non-violent contact points between the British and the Indians flourished, those between the Indians and the settlers entered a state of near-fatal decline. In his oft cited work, *The Middle Ground*, Richard White describes a concept of necessary compromise

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[51] For Cayton's and Teute's use the phrase Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute 'Introduction: On the Connection of Frontiers' in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (eds.) *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), pp. 1-5

[52] James H. Merrell *Into the American Woods: Negotiations on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999), pp. 40-51 and Jane T. Merritt *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), pp. 169-197

[53] Larry L. Nelson *A Man of Distinction Among Them: Alexander McKee and the Ohio Country Frontier, 1754-1799* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1999), pp. 89-132

which facilitated peaceful contact between the settlers and the Indians where the dominance of one party over the other seemed either unlikely or impossible, an idea echoed in Michael McConnell's *A Country Between*.[54] In Kentucky, however, no effective Middle Ground, no attempt to understand the 'values and the practices' of the other group, developed during the course of the frontier war because both sides worked ceaselessly throughout the last quarter of the eighteenth century to remove their enemies from many of the most contested territories.[55] White's Middle Ground may have developed as a method of averting destructive – and unwinnable – wars around the Great Lakes, but throughout Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian regions something of a Battle Ground developed instead. Without any effective go-between class or any other bridging system, and, more importantly, no clear method by which one might arise, violence in this area was able to spiral to the point of self perpetuation.

With the collapse of any system analogous to the mediating mechanisms Merrell, White and McConnell identified, the path was cleared for two important parallel developments to occur among the settlers. The first, and perhaps most important, went beyond simply conceptualising the Indians as Others against whom the settlers could define their own identity.[56] Instead, the Otherness of the Indians became something much more precise in the settler imagination. The Indians became their enemies, which is to say they were conceptualized not just as different, but fundamentally acrimonious and aggressive. The development of this perception occurred in tandem with the collective development of what can best be described, to borrow a turn phrase from A.T.Q Stewart, as a siege mentality.[57] Throughout the frontier war, the sheer mastery wielded by the Indians over the landscape meant that even when direct attacks were not forthcoming the use of psychological warfare and the destruction of essential resources served to keep the settlers off balance. The cumulative effect of these practices resulted in the creation – in the collective settler imagination – of the idea that the community was subject to a near constant state of attrition and attack. The relative isolation of the trans-Appalachian region, largely as a result of the territory's namesake mountain range, limited contact with the east, further compounding the

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[54] Michael N. McConnell *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992) and Richard White *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

[55] White *The Middle Ground*, pp. x-xv

[56] For a broad theoretical discussion of the Other see Jacques Lacan 'The Subject and the Other: Alienation' in Jacques Lacan, Jacques-Alain Miller (ed.) and Alan Sheridan (translator) *The Seminars of Jacques Lacan: Book XI, The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), pp. 203-215. For a discussion of the Indians as Other see Pauline Turner Strong *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Oxford and Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), pp. 3-12

[57] A.T.Q Stewart *The Narrow Ground: Aspects of Ulster, 1609-1969* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1997), pp. 47

development of this besieged perspective. The isolation of Kentucky in particular has led historian Ted Franklin Belue to describe that country as something of an inland island, but it is perhaps more accurate to describe it as an inland ocean – a territory defined by isolated islands of settlement separated from one another by a sea of wilderness controlled by the Indians.[58] This siege mentality – combined with the growing idea that the Indians were the settlers' natural enemy – is a potent example of how the frontier war led to changes in the settlers' world view. Not only did the settlers modify how they viewed their opponents, but also how they viewed the world around them and their place within it.

The creation of these shared ideas was an important development for settlers across the trans-Appalachian west, particularly in those areas of the frontier – such as Kentucky – which were most affected by the war. These ideas were the common intellectual property of the community and, as such, they helped to erode divisions between different, non-Indian, ethnic groups in the region. Elizabeth Perkins argued that the converse was true. Rather than identifying the ways in which the war dissolved perceived ethnic barriers, Perkins instead emphasises relatively static boundaries between the peoples of the frontier, noting instances of division in her study rather than engaging with the larger context of communal coalescence which occurred within the region. In one case, for instance, Perkins argues that the recording of an Irish accent was evidence that the settlers were defined by perceived divisions amongst themselves, however an analysis of the context surrounding this quote suggests a contrary interpretation is more appropriate.[59] 'By Jasus,' Jim Wilson, the Irishman in question, was recorded as having said, 'I'll kill him.' The 'him' in question was the Shawnee war chief, Blue Jacket, and the people with whom Wilson was conversing were a group of settlers – of mixed ethnicity – who had set out together in order to hunt Indians. Whilst it is true, in this instance, that the Irishman's accent was recorded it is also true that, regardless of accent, all of the settlers in this example were working together in one of the most important collective enterprises which could be undertaken during this time on the frontier: the protection of the community from the Indians. True, the settlers recognised different dialects, accents, ethnicities, and different European origins – as Perkins is correct to demonstrate – but they also recognised a far more important commonality which they defined against their collective enemy.[60] It mattered little that Michael Stoner hailed from Germanic stock and spoke with a thick accent.[61] What mattered to the settlers – among whom he became one of the most

[58] Belue *The Hunters of Kentucky*, p. xv
[59] Perkins *Border Life*, p. 96
[60] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC54-66, John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 138-144, and John D. Shane 'Interview with Nathaniel Hart' Draper Manuscripts 17CC191-209
[61] Perkins *Borderlife*, pp. 94-99

renowned and respected hunters in all of Kentucky – was his mastery of the rifle.[62] Peter Silver made this argument explicit in his study of the mid-Atlantic colonies, *Our Savage* Neighbours, when he argued that the 'fear and horror' generated by the Indian wars served to break down the barriers which separated different European groups, rather than allowing them to remain static and unchallenged.[63] In a very real way then, the realities of the frontier war eroded ethnic divisions among the settler community, altering the larger group in order to accommodate the particular challenges posed by the conflict.

For Perkins, however, violence and warfare did not play a defining role in bringing change to the frontier community. Instead, Perkins emphasises a consistency among existing attitudes rather than analysing the change which this specific context both offers and demands. Certainly, Perkins' study offers numerous invaluable insights and much sound analysis but it nonetheless does not account for the formative forces created by the frontier war and the changes which they brought about in the settler community. In contrast to Perkins' emphasised consistency, Stephen Aron's *How the West was Lost* instead demonstrates that society in Kentucky was dynamic, changing to accommodate new forces which were introduced during the country's formative years. Aron's study, however, explains those changes largely in terms of economic and political development with little regard for the lasting effects of the frontier war.[64] In particular, the tendency to view the Indians in ever more racial terms – something which gained significant traction over the course of the war – is largely absent from Aron's analysis. In contrast, Patrick Griffin has placed the transformation of Indian perception at the centre of his study of the Revolutionary Ohio Valley, *American Leviathan*. According to Griffin, social forces unleashed during the American Revolution served to transform how the settlers perceived the Indians. Griffin's argument – that the 'racist impulse' was 'unleashed, revealed, or refashioned at the moment of revolution' – certainly makes an important assertion, but it also suggests a sudden transformation where a more subtle argument would be more appropriate.[65]

The late eighteenth century certainly saw a significant shift in how western settlers perceived the Indians, but the process was hardly straightforward or inevitable. Even in the first part of the nineteenth century, men such as Matthew Elliot and Simon Girty were seen by many westerners as being close, if not identical, to the Indians in spite of their white

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[62] John D. Shane 'Interview with Samuel Treble' Draper Manuscripts 12CC43-44
[63] Peter Silver *Our Savage Neighbours: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2008), pp. xviii-xix
[64] Stephen Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 150-198
[65] Patrick Griffin *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and the Revolutionary Frontier* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), p. 12

parentage.[66] This conscious recognition among contemporaries – that characteristics could be learned, rather than inherited – muddies the racial waters considerably. When men and women described Girty and his ilk as 'savages' they were suggesting an important alternative to pure racism which saw culture and personal actions, rather than inherited biological traits, placed at the centre of how the Indians were conceptualised and understood.[67] That said the war for the trans-Appalachian region and its fallout in the early nineteenth century – not just the Revolutionary war, as Griffin argues – served as something of a racial crucible in the west, crystallizing proto-racist ideas which had been set in motion by the Seven Years War.[68] Although Jane Merritt has argued that the Indians were already perceived as a race by the 1760s, the period prior to the outbreak of the frontier war in Kentucky and the Ohio Valley was a time of numerous racial possibilities as settlers expressed muddied and sometimes contradictory perspectives which demonstrated a remarkable lack of uniform clarity on the subject.[69] The transformation of the Indians into a race was never inevitable, even if it did seem likely. By the end of the frontier war in 1795, however, twenty years of continuous hostilities with the Indians had helped to enforce the idea that all members of this group shared a particular set of hostile and aggressive characteristics. More than any single conflict before it, the frontier war in the trans-Appalachian west served to fundamentally transform how the Indians were perceived by western settlers, and – as a result – how western settlers perceived themselves. As the last part of this thesis will demonstrate, this transformation in perception would have serious repercussions for the Indians throughout the nineteenth century elongating the impact of the war long past its actual conclusion. The frontier war thus altered how the settlers understood themselves, their enemies and the roles played by both in the wider world. Perhaps, then, the west endured, even when it appeared to have been transformed beyond recognition. True, the original pioneers struggled to prosper as the region was changed from a frontier to a state, but the ideological children of the frontier war would continue to play a significant role not only in the development of the region, but in the development of the nation.[70]

The settlers who found themselves in Kentucky in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were fundamentally informed by their pasts. The actions which they undertook were tied to how they understood their prior experiences and, in Kentucky and across the trans-Appalachian territories, those experiences tended to revolve around the sights, sounds, and

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[66] Charles McKnight *Simon Girty: 'The White Savage,' A Romance of the Border* (Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati: J. C. McCurdy & Co., 1880) and Hoffman *Turncoat Hero*
[67] Griffin *American Leviathan*, pp. 152-180
[68] Ward *Breaking the Backcountry*, pp. 3-4
[69] Merritt *At the Crossroads*, pp. 4-15, 169-197 and Silver *Our Savage Neighbours*, p. xxi
[70] Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 1-4

emotions of war. Formed in the space between numerous cultural pressure points – including conflict, the wilderness, resistance to Euro-American expansion, and pre-existing cultural trends imported from Europe and the east – the resultant settler society was the sum of both its past experiences and its anticipated future. However, of all the pressure points which exerted an influence on this community, it was the impact of violence which was by far the most significant. From the outbreak of Dunmore's War in 1774 until the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the world the settlers built was one defined by the impact of conflict and, in both the long and the short term, the society which developed in this region reflected that reality. Settlers who had been affected by warfare with the Indians saw the world from a different perspective to those who had not. In many cases they looked through eyes which had seen their relatives and companions killed or mutilated, they carried with them weapons which had been used in battle against their enemies, and they lived in communities filled with homes emptied by raids and with families shattered by loss. It is the purpose of this thesis to explore the relationship which existed during this period between warfare and the frontier community, examining how each affected the other. The violence of the frontier war was no impotent entity, but a force which exerted fundamental changes upon the communities it touched, just as those communities – in turn – helped to shape the particular character of the war. The relationship between violence and society on the Kentucky and trans-Appalachian frontiers was both dynamic and fundamental and, as such, it is impossible to understand one without fully understanding the other.

Although the Ohio Valley has been widely studied, the specific focus of this work will be upon Kentucky – an area which has received comparatively little academic attention to date – and, to a lesser extent, southern Ohio.[71] There are a number of reasons why Kentucky, in particular, will form the main focus of this study including issues relating to the historical context, as well issues relating to the available source material. With regards to the context, Kentucky as a region has been the victim of a drought of major academic monographs with only Elizabeth Perkin's *Borderlife* and Stephen Aron's *How the West was Lost* offering significant studies focusing upon the region's frontier period in recent years.[72] These studies

[71] For examples of works which analyse the Ohio Valley as a whole see Eric Hinderaker *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson (eds.) *The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814* (East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 2001) and Andrew R. L. Cayton and Stuart B. Hobbs (eds.) *The Centre of a Great Empire: The Ohio Country in the Early Republic* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005)

[72] Although Perkins' and Aron's studies represent the most significant monographs to appear concerning the region, several other works of synthesis have appeared which, though valuable, do not necessarily offer a significant level of interpretive analysis as these works. R. Douglas Hurt's *The Ohio Frontier* includes a significant amount of information relating to Kentucky however this work is primarily concerned with the development and context of Ohio, rather than its southern neighbour. A part of the same series, *Kentucke's Frontiers* by Craig Thompson Friend offers a broad synthesis of the region's

illuminate aspects of this region's frontier period but neither provides an analysis which also reflects the chronology of Kentucky during the Revolutionary War, something this work will rectify. Reflecting the lack of modern academic focus, if one were to look for another major academic work analysing the Kentucky frontier one would have to turn to John Mack Faragher's biography of Daniel Boone. Whilst this work is probably the best individual analysis of the man, it is necessarily restricted in its scope when it comes to representing Kentucky's frontier period as a whole.[73] In broad terms, far more has been written about the Pennsylvania backcountry than has been written about the frontier in Kentucky.[74] This lack of focused micro-studies has left a significant blind spot in the Ohio Valley's historiography, particularly concerning the development of the war with the Indians in the late eighteenth century; by taking Kentucky as the focus of this study and providing a chronological framework for the analysis contained within this thesis, this work aims to offset this issue.

Kentucky also occupies an interesting space in backcountry historiography as it cannot be studied without specific reference to areas north of the Ohio River and south of the Cumberland Gap, particularly the territories which now comprise Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia and Tennessee. As such it fits awkwardly into the existing historiography of the southern backcountry, at once demanding analysis in the context of the north even as its immigrant population – the same migratory tide which served to populate western Virginia and Tennessee – demands analysis in the context of the south.[75] Kentucky, then, forms a keystone in the trans-Appalachian region, an area which is neither southern nor northern but was instead fundamentally western. In addition to Kentucky, southern Ohio – from 1788 to 1795 – also forms an important region within this study for the following two reasons.

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frontier history but, like Ted Franklin Belue's narrative history of Kentucky – *The Hunters of Kentucky* – it fails to offer a significant or new interpretive framework for the territory. See Aron *How the West was* Lost, Perkins *Borderlife*, Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, Belue *The Hunters of Kentucky*, and Craig Thompson Friend *Kentucke's Frontiers* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010)

[73] To be sure, Faragher's work is not the only recent biography on Boone – a deluge of similar titles have been released in the past decade including Michael A. Lofaro's and Robert Morgan's respective volumes. Whilst not the only biography available, Faragher's is the most balanced and academic – though Lofaro's comes close – not only with regard to his principle subject, but the context in which he lived. See Faragher *Daniel Boone*, Michael A. Lofaro *Daniel Boone: An American Life* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2003) and Robert Morgan *Boone: A Biography* (New York: Shannon Ravenel Books, 2007)

[74] For examples of studies concerning western Pennsylvania (or somewhat more broadly – the 'mid-Atlantic' frontier) see Merrell *Into the American Woods*, Merritt *At the Crossroads*, Silver *Our Savage Neighbours*, Ward *Breaking the* Backcountry, Paul. B. Moyer *Wild Yankees: The Struggle for Independence Along Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Frontier* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), and Kevin Kenny *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

[75] R. Finger *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indian University Press, 2001), pp. xiv-xv

First, the migratory tide from Kentucky to Ohio was significant with a major south to north movement occurring during the last years of the frontier war. This movement of individuals north of the Ohio River saw the settlers taking not only their property out of Kentucky, but their war-formed ideas and world views.[76] Large areas of southern Ohio thus became a cultural and social extension of Kentucky, a reality compounded by the significant amount of conflict which surrounded the development of these settlements. After 1795, however, the Ohio frontier would develop under different conditions from those which had affected Kentucky during its formative period. To be sure, hostilities between the settlers and the Indians did not disappear entirely but following the treaty of Greenville the process of Euro-American expansion across Ohio took a very different course to the settlement of Kentucky.[77] During the frontier war, Kentucky and southern Ohio can be considered – more or less – as one, but following the end of hostilities the Ohio frontier was affected by various forms of non-violent contact with the Indians which had largely eluded Kentucky during its time as a borderland. In the post-Greenville era, then, the formative experiences of the Kentucky and Ohio frontiers diverged sharply. The second reason Ohio plays an important role in this thesis is that it comprised the home territory of a significant number of the Indians who were involved in the frontier war. Like the setters upon whom this work will primarily focus, the Indians of Ohio were fundamentally affected by this conflict. Although this study will engage with the social impact this war had upon the tribes of the Ohio Valley, they will not be the principle subject of this analysis, deserving as they are of a full and complete treatment of their own. The settlers of Kentucky and southern Ohio will form the principle case studies of this thesis, but the ideas and concepts employed in this work can be applied to other areas of the trans-Appalachian west, particularly western Virginia, Tennessee and western Pennsylvania.

A detailed study of the impact of violence upon frontier society in Kentucky is possible because a wide array of letters, diaries, newspapers, court depositions, and oral histories which relate directly to the Kentucky-Ohio region exist which allow this largely neglected area to be studied in some depth. Although Gregory Nobles has argued that – outside of New England – there are few sources which provide a non-elite perspective of the frontier, this is simply not the case for the Kentucky, particularly when recorded oral traditions are considered.[78] Collections of letters also offer an intriguing insight into family life upon the

[76] Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, pp. 112-145
[77] Kim Gruenwald *River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origins of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790-1850* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002)
[78] Gregory H. Nobles 'Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier, 1750-1800' *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 46 (1989): 641-670, p. 649

frontier and, specifically, how the war with the Indians affected it. The Flemings-Edmunds Papers, for instance, contain a remarkable collection of letters written by members of William Fleming's family from the 1760s until the early 1800s which give a particularly interesting insight into how William's adventures on the frontier affected those closely related to him, whilst a number of other letters and one off documents from a variety of family collections provide insights into how the death of friends and compatriots impacted the lives of those who survived.[79] As with most areas in the Ohio Valley, a massive number of documents are contained within the voluminous Draper manuscripts such as military records, reports, letters and journals which shed significant light upon both the intensity of the frontier war and its wider effect upon the population.[80] For insights into everyday life during this period, family papers again tend to be one of the best sources with court depositions relating to land disputes also providing some useful information. Published narratives and autobiographies, particularly when used in tandem with newspapers, have provided much information about specific events and the development of general attitudes throughout the region with newspapers in particular demonstrating both continuity and discontinuity over time.[81]

As with most histories, the most problematic aspect of gathering source material for this thesis has come from finding documents which reflect the experiences of the illiterate masses – this category includes the majority of settlers and Indians. For the Indians, captivity narratives have proven an interesting source particularly as several dating from the first half of the nineteenth century were written by settlers who had spent decades living among the Indians as fully naturalised cultural converts. In particular, the narrative of Jonathan Alder and the – much more obscure – narrative of John Tanner have provided some significant insights into how the Indians viewed the war for the frontier. Of course, captivity narratives are far from problematic but read closely and with an awareness of the prejudices and motivations which underline these sources, much valuable information can be gleaned from them. Similarly, other settler-centric sources which concern or feature the Indians can also provide important insights when analysed, weighed, and studied appropriately.[82] Records relating to treaty negotiations or the influence of the British among the Indians have proven to have some

[79] Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society
[80] The Draper Manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Society
[81] Both the *Virginia* and the *Kentucky Gazettes* provide the principle newspaper sources employed in this thesis
[82] John Tanner and Edwin James (ed.) *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut De Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* (London: Baldwin and Craddock, 1830) and Jonathan Alder and Larry L. Nelson (ed.) *A History of Jonathan Alder: His Captivity and Life with the Indians* (Arkon: University of Arkon Press, 2002)

particular value in interpreting their experiences, along with missionary accounts by David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder.[83]

As for the illiterate settler masses, a subset within the Draper Manuscripts known as the John D. Shane Interviews has acted to give a voice to a large portion of this group which would otherwise have remained utterly silent; in a very real way these sources are *the* eye into the non-literate majority. Shane, a Presbyterian Minister living in the early nineteenth century, spent a large portion of his life collecting interviews from former pioneers, a practice which should not be alien to anyone familiar with the overall Draper manuscripts collection. Shane, however, took an unusually far sighted approach to his collection by rarely engaging in the type of interviews for which Lyman Draper is best known.[84] Rather than mining his subjects on particular characters and events, Shane instead allowed those with whom he spoke the opportunity to talk about the subjects which they deemed most relevant.[85]

This process resulted in a curious and distinct collection which reflects the remembered experiences of the interviewee in a much more accurate manner. As a collector of personal histories, Shane makes his presence known in these sources in a very obvious way and at numerous points he scribbles his thoughts and reflections regarding the collection process – and his subjects – in the margins of his notes. This practice allows historians to understand his methodology in some considerable detail. On more than one occasion, for instance, Shane makes it known that he did indeed have prejudices and that he found some of the accounts which he was recording to be distasteful in nature. When he interviewed Joe Taylor, for instance, he commented in his notes that Taylor's account of butchering Indians had left him feeling 'disgusted.' According to Shane, this particular settler 'had more of the air of one loving to tell stories, than of a simple hearted pioneer.'[86] Obviously Shane had

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[83] David Zeisberger 'The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772-1781' in Herman Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel (eds.) *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772-1781* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005) and John Heckewelder 'A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohoegan Indians from its Commencement in the Year 1740 to the Close of the Year 1808' in William Elsey Connelly (ed.) *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohoegan Indians from its Commencement in the Year 1740 to the Close of the Year 1808* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1907)

[84] Perkins *Borderlife*, pp. 36-39

[85] During his interview of George Trumbo, Shane demonstrated the value he placed in unguided narratives when he noted that his current subject – 'A man who tried my patience with his dullness' – needed to be asked specific questions before volunteering information. Shane had previously spoken with other settlers who had told them some of the events surrounding Trumbo's life. Upon visiting Trumbo for himself, however, Shane found that the aged pioneer was unwilling or unable to volunteer information unless pressed. Demonstrating his views on such procedures, Shane would later write 'I was thus likely to lose the essential part of a story, as to get it' (John D. Shane 'Interview with George Trumbo' Draper Manuscripts 12CC113-115 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Peter Curtwright' Draper Manuscripts 12CC110-111).

[86] John D. Shane 'Interview with Joe F. Taylor' Draper Manuscripts 11CC228-233

particular ideas about the character of the settlers whom he interviewed, but that did not stop him from recording accounts which did not fit easily with that view. If his interviews were not taken down verbatim, he at least recorded the major details, even when they failed to live up to his own expectations.[87] Elizabeth Perkins correctly identified a further method of Shane's for ensuring accuracy: he made every attempt to read the interviews back to his subjects, a practice which is born out in the scribbled notes which dot the final documents.[88] Setting aside issues relating to memory and interpretation for a moment, Shane made every attempt to accurately reflect the narratives which were delivered to him and, though his sensibilities were obviously affected by some stories – the occasional, but never arbitrary, absent word in these documents demonstrates Shane's offended sensibilities when his subjects swore – he nonetheless recorded numerous accounts of violence, sex, abuse, and moral deviation.[89]

The issue with this source collection does not lie with the man who recorded it. Instead, the primary issue with any collection of oral histories, as Elizabeth Tonkins and Ivan

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[87] Shane, for instance, commented on his second interview with Josiah Collins – '[this] long & tedious interview, of which this is a sketch, I think it not worth the while to retain with verbal or otherwise particular accuracy.' However, the entire interview comprises thirteen pages of closely written text that only begins heavily summarizing Collins' narrative near its end when Shane's subject begins telling several unrelated – and apparently uninteresting – anecdotes. Importantly, Collins' second interview is far more anecdotal than the first which had already provided Shane with details of numerous attacks, raids, sieges and other events from the war with the Indians. In his second interview with Shane, Collins instead passed on isolated tales and anecdotes which concerned sexual promiscuity, marital infidelity and various actions which the minister likely did not wish to know about. That said, Shane evidently did not find the entire second interview 'tedious' – particularly the sections which concerned Daniel Boone and his famous family. Although likely not verbatim, the following quote demonstrates that Shane – even during a 'tedious' encounter – attempted to record the spirit of the accounts which were given to him: 'Susannah [Boone] when I saw her at Boonesborough, was a clever, pretty, well behaved woman. There were stories that were in circulation [about her promiscuity], & not anything I saw ((and yet Mr. Collins wo'dn't deny but he believed them true)).' Like most of his interviews, Shane writes in the first person, and even if the words are not exact, he made every attempt to record the sentiment behind them. For instance, Shane obviously asked Collins whether or not he believed the rumours surrounding Susannah Boone and though neither his question nor Collins' exact answer is given the substance of both is clearly present. In an another example, Shane complained that one his interviewees 'commenced remarks intended to be religious and said he made them for the benefit of the young man on his left – meaning myself.' None of these 'religious' remarks are evident in the final source as Shane evidently did not believe they were relevant to his purpose (and also because they appear to have irritated him) – but he nonetheless recorded the subsequent narrative offered to him by this same individual, see John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC97-110 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Benjamin Snelling' Draper Manuscripts 12CC111-113

[88] Perkins *Borderlife*, p. 24

[89] In Shane's own words, during a moment of methodological reflection 'My aim has been to get of them [the settlers], what they themselves know. And what they may not know I will ever see another person.' Although it appears that Shane set out to write a history of Presbyterianism in Kentucky such as those he was collecting – and which can still be found in his personal papers – it is self evident from his interview collection that he became far more interested in writing a broader history of the country's settlement, see John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC78 and Unknown Author 'Early Indiana Presbyterianism excerpt [excerpt – pages removed from original source]' John D. Shane Papers 63M289, University of Kentucky Archives

Jaksic have acknowledged, concerns memory and, ultimately, interpretation.[90] What, for instance, did the settlers fail to recall, what did they choose to omit, and why did they choose to tell the stories they ultimately did? First, it is essential to accept that these oral accounts do not provide a three hundred and sixty degree view of life on the frontier. Even if they had tried, the settlers could not have presented a complete window into their own pasts. As a collection of sources, however, the Shane interviews do offer distinctive insights into a wide range of experiences and – crucially – they can offer the type of insights which were not recorded in most other documents or sources. For example, marital infidelity and sexual promiscuity were discussed by the settlers but not readily recorded in most traditional written materials. In other examples, Shane recorded accounts of interpersonal incidents which, otherwise, would have been completely lost to history. Hugh McGary's second wife, for example, was prone to violent 'tantrums' which often played out in public.[91] This is the type of information which is often distinct to personal oral histories however it is telling that no other significant insights are given into the relationship shared by the McGarys: how often did these tantrums occur? Were they irrational episodes or brought on by the actions of her husband? Did the couple enjoy one another's company out with the context of these outbursts? Evidently, these accounts do not provide a complete picture – the question that remains, then, is what is missing from these sources? The Shane interviews certainly have their limits, but when they are used in conjunction with other sources, these interviews help to add significant depth, often adding additional context and personal perspective where otherwise there would be none. These sources do not provide historians with a complete view into the world of the illiterate masses, but they do provide a glimpse which – if handled with care, caution and critical scepticism – can illuminate the actions and world views of those whose voice would have otherwise been lost.

The fallibility of memory is another issue which historians must address where oral histories are concerned. Put simply, people forget or misremember and, as such, some of the information contained within the Shane interviews could be inaccurate. Indeed, this would be a particular problem in a lone interview, or a collection which included only a small number of samples. However, the size of Shane's collection – he collected no less than three hundred distinct interviews – allows for a significant amount of narrative overlap which provides some level of verification between accounts, not to mention the ability to verify these sources by

[90] Elizabeth Tonkin 'Investigating Oral Traditions' *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 27 (1986): 203-213. See also Ivan Jaksic 'Oral History in the Americas' *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 79 (1992): 590-600

[91] John D. Shane 'Interview with Sarah Graham' Draper Manuscripts 12CC45

comparing them to other primary materials.[92] Of course, particulars and details are often lost or confused, however the Shane interviews demonstrate, for the most part, a strong degree of consistency.[93] Far more problematic than misremembering incidental details, however, is the potential of the individual being interviewed to reinterpret past events based upon their later experiences. Why, in particular, did so many of Shane's subjects focus – almost exclusively – upon the war with the Indians rather than other aspects related to life on the frontier? To be sure, some imparted details of family life, others mentioned the process of whiskey making, and others still touched upon courtship between the sexes but, in almost every instance, even these expanded topics occur within a context of violence and bloodshed.[94] This raises something of a quandary for historians using this material. Did Shane's subjects focus upon violence because it was one of the most important and dominant aspects of their lives or did they focus upon it because later events had led them to dwell upon the war disproportionately? There are no simple answers for these issues but it appears that both of these possibilities go some way to forming an overall explanation. The process of producing a personal oral history is not as simple as offering an interpretation of past events filtered through a contemporary lens. Rather, it must be recognised – first and foremost – that the past being discussed by a given settler had some direct relationship with the period in which they were being questioned; the latter, quite literally, came into being from the former. The Indian removals of the 1830s along with more recent conflicts with the Indians, such as the Black Hawk War, likely gave most former settlers a framework in which they could contextualise their past, but these later events – as will be demonstrated in the last part of this thesis – were also born out of this period.

Nevertheless, it remains telling that details of battles, lost relatives, and ruined lives came so readily to mind. It is not that the present does not in some way help us to reinterpret our pasts, but it is equally true, if not more so, that our pasts are the bedrock upon which our presents come to be. When Shane asked his subjects to tell him of their time on the frontier they tellingly dwelled upon the losses they as individuals – or as members of a larger

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[92] John D. Shane's interviews can be found in volumes 11-17CC of the Draper manuscripts. In addition to interviews, Shane also transcribed letters, church records, and other source materials.

[93] A good example of narrative overlap occurred between the various accounts which Shane collected of Blue Jacket's capture, revealing – as they do – a significant level of consistency between the different memories of this event recorded by Shane. See John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 12CC138-144, John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC54-66, and John D. Shane 'Interview with Patrick Scott' Draper Manuscripts 11CC9

[94] John D. Shane 'Interview with Sarah Graham' 12CC47 and John D. Shane 'Interview with David Deron' Draper Manuscripts 12CC242

community – had sustained.[95] They did this, in part, because of what was happening between the United States and the remaining eastern Indian tribes throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but they also did this because those memories had stayed with them and were deemed important enough to share. Whilst later events in the United States may have dictated the memories which the settlers shared or emphasised, they did not create them. Although problematic, the Shane interviews provide the largest part of the settler community with a voice which they otherwise would have been denied. When compared with contemporary documentary materials, these oral accounts compliment rather than conflict. Of course, there was more to the frontier war, or life on the frontier, than these testimonies could ever hope to represent but their existence adds additional depth to the surviving documentary evidence, providing perspectives and context which otherwise would have been lacking. As significant as this interview collection is in recovering the voice of illiterate settlers, it should be noted that Shane's collection will provide only one component in a broad selection of primary materials which will be employed throughout this thesis. Letters, narratives, published accounts, newspapers, court records, diaries, journals, and oral histories will provide the overall concert of evidence which this thesis will employ.

The relationship between violence and society was a core dynamic on the Kentucky, southern Ohio, and wider trans-Appalachian frontiers. As a community, the settlers were fundamentally affected by the impact violence had upon their lives, realigning how they conceived of themselves, their enemies, and the world they inhabited. More than an event, violence was instead a process which helped to define the early settler community in regions such as Kentucky, whilst in the long term it helped to realign how white Americans would perceive, and ultimately deal with Indians throughout the nineteenth century. Chapter one of this thesis will demonstrate how personal vendettas between relatively small groups of settlers and Indians were able to escalate into much larger conflicts by looking specifically at the case of Dunmore's War in 1774. In chapter two, the specific impact of psychological warfare in Kentucky will be considered in order to demonstrate how the vendettas sparked in 1774 were able to spread throughout the larger community, creating a spiral of violence that could grow independent of other top-down forces. Chapter three will examine how the settlers perceived their new environment, particularly with regard to how Indian military control over the wilderness encouraged a sense of commonality throughout the community and forced ethnic divisions among the settlers into retreat. The fourth chapter will analyse how the development of widespread communal revenge was responsible for perpetuating

[95] John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain John Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 17CC6-25, John D. Shane 'Interview with unknown person' Draper 11CC279-283 and Shane 'Interview with George Fearis' Draper Manuscripts 13CC238-244

violence in the region throughout the late 1770s and 1780s. This chapter will also demonstrate that an escalating series of violent events brought the conflict to the point of self perpetuation even as the Revolutionary War was beginning to wind down. Chapter five will analyse the importance of the family and other interpersonal relationships in driving warfare in the region forward. Whilst chapter four examines how violence against an individual drove them to fight – even beyond the limits of the Revolution – chapter five will analyse how and why violations of families, kin and companion groups further fuelled the drive to fight. Chapter six will examine how the political élite, unable to restrain the war in the west, ultimately came to take advantage of it in order to secure vast amounts of land from the Indians.

Although each chapter of this thesis will focus upon a specific theme, it will also frame those specific ideas in a chronological context. This will be done for two reasons. First, the narrative of the frontier war in Kentucky is not at all well established. Indeed, no specific micro-study of the effects of the American Revolution upon Kentucky's frontier community exists. As such this vacuum will thus be filled by this work. Secondly, though the themes described in each individual chapter tended to affect the period as a whole, certain concepts were most visible or most significant during the specific times emphasised in a given chapter. For instance, the importance of ground-up vendettas between small groups of settlers and Indians is most relevantly expressed during the context of Dunmore's War – and hence chapter one. In contrast, the role played by a much wider desire for revenge among the community is expressed particularly well in the period immediately before the end of the Revolution in order to demonstrate why the war continued even when policy makers and the government sought to bring it to a close – hence this subject is addressed largely in chapter four. Other themes, such as the role played by the environment and the importance of the family apply equally well throughout the period studied in this thesis, however they have been placed within the chronological structure during periods when the arguments expressed in those chapters can be made most effectively.

It is worth making a final note regarding the limits of this thesis. Although a social history of the Kentucky and southern Ohio frontiers, it does not attempt to offer a complete analysis of all aspects of the community which developed in this region. Specifically, it is a social history of war in the region rather than a complete social history of the people. For this reason certain aspects of the community fully deserving of study, such as gender and the relationship between white settlers and African-American slaves, are not analysed in any particular detail. To be sure, these subjects are engaged with to a limited degree – where deemed appropriate – but to offer the full analysis which they deserve would require a

finished volume two or possibly three times larger than this. Instead of considering gender or race, this thesis looks instead at the relationship between violence and people. Of course, the experiences of men and women – for instance – were not uniform but the central argument of this thesis is that the violence of the frontier affected and altered the community as a whole, not one component part. Likewise, this thesis will not attempt to offer a detailed study of how violence affected the Indian communities who took part in this conflict. Although this subject does appear at numerous points, with some conclusions drawn, the Native American experience requires, demands, and deserves a full study of its own. This thesis, then, does not contain all of the answers – however it does aspire to pose some new, or under realised questions for contexts affected by significant levels of violence. First, in what ways did violence impact the individual? Secondly, when a large body of individuals were affected by conflict, how was that impact expressed in the communities which they collectively formed? Thirdly, did widespread exposure to conflict influence whether or not a community would react with further violence of its own? The settlers of Kentucky are thus a case study for these broader questions and it is very much the frontier settler community as a whole which is being considered within this work. There can be no doubt that specific studies of gender, race and other theoretical divisions will shed further light upon these questions in the future, but a study of the community as a whole is in no way less deserving or significant because of this.

Chapter One

The People's War for the Ohio Valley

Yellow Creek, April 30th, 1774. Since the beginning of spring, reports of Indian attacks, violations and raids upon the frontier had become increasingly common.[1] Stories of ambushed settlers, captured pioneers, and victimized hunters had spread through the backcountry and, by April, rumours had started to appear concerning the inhabitants of Yellow Creek; specifically, it was said that hostile Indians were planning a massacre of the region's burgeoning settler population.[2] Responding to this anticipated attack, Daniel Greathouse and a band of like minded settlers prepared an assault of their own at the site. The subsequent ambush of Indian men, women and children did not, however, help to secure the frontier or its inhabitants from further danger. Instead, it laid the foundation for a series of comparable responses from enraged members of the Mingo tribe – particularly the war chief, Logan – thus triggering the conflict that would come to be known as Dunmore's War.[3] Since the end of Pontiac's Rebellion ten years prior, the backcountry had been affected by a steady but relatively low level of intercultural conflict. Both settlers and Indians had died at one another's hands throughout this period but until 1774 these fatalities had not yet erupted into a more pervasive state of hostilities.[4] They had, however, served to embitter, condition, and alienate individuals on both sides of the frontier.

Building upon a social foundation laid by the Seven Years War, the continuing violence which afflicted the backcountry during this period helped to lay the groundwork for both settler and Indian led campaigns of vendetta. It was within this context that men such as Daniel Greathouse and Michael Cresap launched their respective attacks upon the northern tribes. Although Virginia – led by Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of the colony – was not yet at war with any of the northern Indians, by spring the situation was beginning to look very different on the ground. Shortly before Greathouse initiated his infamous Yellow Creek

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[1] 'Letter from John Floyd to William Preston, April 26th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ19

[2] 'Certification of Charles Polke' in Thomas Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia: Illustrated with a Map, Including the States of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania. A New Edition, Prepared by the Author* (J.W. Randolph: Richmond, 1853), p. 254

[3] William R. Nester *The Frontier War for American Independence* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2004), pp. 56-57

[4] 'Letter from Hugh Mercer to Colonel William Preston, January 8th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQI, 'Letter from Captain Daniel Smith to Colonel William Preston, March 22nd, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ15, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), October 8th, 1767, p. 1, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), June 16th, 1768, p. 1, and *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), April 15th, 1773, p. 1

massacre Cresap and a band of likeminded settlers had begun indiscriminately ambushing, attacking and killing whatever Indians they could find near the town of Wheeling.[5] Similarly, war parties from the northern tribes were already beginning a limited – but no less potent – campaign against some of the most remote backcountry settlements.[6] Although Lord Dunmore was months away from entering the fray, war on the frontier was already a reality, the product of the region's inhabitants and the specific forces which drove them to fight.

Accordingly, this chapter will analyse how a comparatively minor clash of vendettas affecting a relatively small number of combatants during the spring of 1774 was able to drive the frontier population to spark not only Dunmore's so-called war but one of the most enduring and violent conflicts in the history of the American frontier. By building upon the legacy of the Seven Years War, Pontiac's Rebellion and the confrontations which had marred the frontier throughout the late 1760s and early 1770s, this latest outbreak of fighting served to crystallize and focus enmities and past grievances, a bottom-up tide which quickly moved the frontier away from peace towards chaos and warfare. Far from being an impotent force, fear of a perceived enemy – particularly when combined with a negative preconception and a strong desire to live in safety – was a key bottom-up driving force and a significant after effect of the vendetta system which characterised the frontier in the early months of 1774. More than a mere background detail, communal fear sparked by the escalating conflict helped to reinforce the notion among the settlers that war was not only a desirable course of action but an unavoidable one. By the spring of 1774 high levels of violence had not yet resurfaced in the backcountry, even as massacres and retaliations were beginning to be carried out.[7] However, the events leading up to Dunmore's War served to infuse the backcountry with ideas and images of atrocities, stirring communal preconceptions, expectations and memories. The number of active vendettas in the spring may have been small, but the ferocity of the violence which accompanied them served to prime the larger population for war. As the conflict

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[5] 'Letter from Ebenezer Zane to John Brown, February 4th, 1800' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, pp. 249-250

[6] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), December 9th, 1773, p. 1 and *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 24th, 1774, p. 3

[7] The *Virginia Gazette*, although not an objective measure of frontier warfare, reflects in its coverage between 1764 and 1774 a comparatively low level of conflict between western settlers and Indian tribes. Between 1764 and 1766 accounts of Indian attacks in the paper (or accounts where such attacks were feared) largely disappear. Although this absence does not necessarily indicate zero hostile interactions between Indians and frontier settlers, it does suggest that violent incidents reached a particularly low level. Accounts of Indian attacks reappear in 1767, 1768 and 1769 before once again disappearing and remerging in 1772. The average number of reported Indian attacks from 1767 until 1773 – the eve of Dunmore's War – is 1.43 per year. The number reported in the paper in 1774 alone (Dunmore's War) was seven. See *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), October 5th and September 7th, 1769, December 2nd, 1773, March 24th, June 23rd, June 30th, August 25th, 1774, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), October 8th, December 3rd, 1767, February 25th and June 16th, 1768, June 25th, 1772, April 15th and December 2nd, 1773, June 2nd, June 16th and September 8th, 1774

escalated through the summer, an ever widening portion of the frontier population was exposed to the conflict and its associated trappings, a process which helped to lay the groundwork for future confrontations in Kentucky and its neighbouring regions.[8]

For most historians, the outbreak of Dunmore's War – and the larger struggle for the trans-Appalachian west – can be explained as the result of powerful, largely top-down forces such as economic pressure, competition for land, racism, or the actions and desires of the political élite, particularly Lord Dunmore in 1774.[9] However, the settlers and Indians of the west were not affected by top-down forces in isolation. They were also the victims of concurrent bottom-up tides which helped to significantly shape their actions, reactions and worldviews. In order to understand why war broke out – and why the fighting essentially continued until 1795, an unprecedented period of unbroken warfare in North America, it is necessary to understand the forces which drove the masses, not their political masters. Greathouse's band did not commit the massacre at Yellow Creek because they were responding to larger economic forces, nor because of Lord Dunmore's machinations to gather further power, influence and wealth to himself.[10] They committed this act of violence because a series of experiences and forces particular to their lives had led them to – and primed them for – that precise situation.[11] Namely, these forces were a fear of Indian raids, paranoia, past experiences with violence, existing preconceptions and a strong desire to protect one's self, not to mention one's family and cohorts. The war which started on the frontier in 1774 was not a political war or a conflict which can easily be classified through a traditional, top-down analysis. It was a social war; one inspired, perpetuated and fought by the people. In short, Dunmore's War, like much of the conflict which would occur in the backcountry over the next two decades, was driven from the ground up, a product of frontier experience and perception. Certainly, top-down forces were never entirely absent and the growing sense of a conscious

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[8] Throughout the period 1774-1795, vendettas played a significant role in generating bottom-up social forces on both the large and small scale. In the case of Dunmore's War, vendettas were operating at a smaller level, serving to trigger confrontations which spiralled into a much larger – but relatively brief – intercultural conflict. By the 1780s, however, their role had changed somewhat as they began to directly affect a much larger proportion of the settler population. This vast increase in exposure meant that they served to perpetuate a self-sustaining mechanism of violence, separating the ongoing frontier war from the geo-political struggle – the American Revolution – which helped to trigger it. This expanded role will be analysed extensively in Chapter Four.

[9] Woody Holton *Force Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 33-35, Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 157-160, and Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 99

[10] John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore 'Lord Dunmore's Official Report to the Earl of Dartmouth, December 24th, 1774' in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (eds.) *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), pp. 368-371

[11] 'Declaration of John Sappington' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, pp. 266-268, 'Declaration of Samuel McKee, Junior' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 268, and 'Declaration of William Robinson' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, pp. 255-257

differentiation between the settlers and the Indians was certainly laying a solid groundwork for future expressions of racism but other, more specific forces cannot be ignored when analysing the outbreak and perpetuation of this conflict.[12] It was men like Michael Cresap, Daniel Greathouse and even Logan of the Mingo, after all, who started this war, not Dunmore. For his part, Dunmore merely exploited particular aspects of an existing situation for his own benefit.[13] It is these other individuals, then, and the forces which drove them and their followers to think, act and fight as they did which require and demand the most careful study.

In many ways, Dunmore's War of 1774 was a microcosm for the conflict which would envelop the frontier for the next twenty years. Although larger economic and political forces would play a role in shaping the overall confrontation, the development of a vendetta obsessed frontier population in western Virginia served to drive and even catalyse much of the larger conflict. Historians may attempt to explain the outbreak of Dunmore's War as the result of numerous top-down factors, but for many of those involved in the fighting, the conflict had been set in motion long before Dunmore finally lumbered into the fray, a war de jure if not a war de facto. Dunmore's War – like the larger struggle for the trans-Appalachian region – owed much of its existence to the desire among settlers and Indians to seek and extract revenge from the other's general population. Although the later struggle for the western region would be underlined by a much more widespread system of vendettas, Dunmore's War demonstrated how even a relatively small number of individuals – impacted by violence and acutely focused upon attaining revenge for perceived atrocities – were able to ignite serious confrontations across the frontier.[14] As both microcosm and spark, Dunmore's War was an

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[12] Even if race – for instance – was accepted as a driving force behind this conflict more questions are raised by such a conclusion than are put to rest. Did Greathouse, his followers, and those like him inherit a racial attitude (and if so, where did they inherit it from) or were they agents of its creation? What of Lord Dunmore's influence upon the war which took his name? If historians – such as John Mack Faragher – who argue that Dunmore's War was an attempt by the Governor to redirect pre-Revolutionary tensions are correct, how do Greathouse and his followers fit into this analysis? Were they simply precursors to Dunmore's plan – individuals acting upon an impulse tied to overarching political and economic forces of which they were ignorant – or were they instead acting in response to a local socio-cultural ecosystem; victims of their own experiences, not victims prone to the whims of the political world? For Faragher's argument see Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 99.

[13] 'Declaration of John Heckewelder' in Jefferson *Note on the State of Virginia*, pp. 260-261

[14] Revenge was not a new force on the frontier, enshrined – as it was – within the Indian practice of captive taking, adoption and ritualistic torture. Unlike the settlers, Indian tribes tended to have cultural mechanisms in place which stopped their desire from revenge from escalating out of control. In 1774, however, those mechanisms appear to have failed as Logan and his followers consciously attempted to kill a number of settlers far in excess of the number of Mingo lost at Yellow Creek. Rather than settling for the largely like-for-like revenge which characterised many such campaigns, Logan demanded far more blood than he had lost. See Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24 and 'Letter from Judge Harry Innes to Thomas Jefferson, March 2nd, 1799' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of* Virginia, p. 246. For a discussion concerning the restraint of revenge among Indian tribes see Wayne E. Lee 'Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500-1800' *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 71 (2007): 701-741

important first step in igniting one of the most distinct, violent and enduring frontier wars in American history. Misleading moniker aside, this confrontation was an expression of the frontier masses and of the forces which drove them – even on the eve of Revolution – to take up arms under the banner of a British governor.

When, in 1769, Daniel Boone and a small band of companions stared across the Cumberland Gap into the territory that would become the state of Kentucky, they did so during a time of relative peace and stability.[15] Although it is easy to think in terms of violence when one considers the American frontier, historians should remember that peace between settlers and Indians was much more common than warfare throughout the colonial period. From the original Powhatan raids upon early Virginia until the Wounded Knee massacre, the image of warring frontier peoples – one expanding, the other fighting that expansion – has been both constant and stifling. Even in the period between 1754 and 1814 – a time which some historians have described as a 'Sixty Years War' in the Ohio Valley – more time was spent in a state of peace than was spent at war.[16] To be sure, the idea of unchecked, warring populations in the backcountry has certainly been challenged in recent decades but the idea remains an important component in how the frontier is conceptualised.[17]

Although it has been in-print for over forty years, Dee Brown's bestselling polemic *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* continues to enjoy widespread distribution and popular acceptance, emphasising not only violent interactions between the Indians and the

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[15] John Filson and Daniel Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon' in John Filson *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky to Which is Added the Adventures of Daniel Boon* (Wilmington: James Adams, 1784), pp. 50-51

[16] The total period of all the wars described by David Curtis Skaggs, Larry L. Nelson, and their contributors in their anthology *The Sixty Year War for the Great Lakes* is less than thirty years. Skaggs et al does not argue that the 'Sixty Years War' represented a true war in its own right, but an extended period in which a number of related conflicts occurred in succession. Still, it is interesting to note that even during this period of increased hostilities, less than half of the total time was actually spent fighting. That said, Skaggs draws a clear distinction between the American Revolution and the war for the North West Territory whereas this thesis instead recognises no real or significant peace breaking out in the trans-Appalachian region following the conclusion of the former conflict. Reclassifying these two wars into one larger conflict increases the total amount of time spent fighting by approximately five years. However, even this increase serves principally to underline the distinctive nature of the war for trans-Appalachian region. This conflict alone contains two thirds of the fighting in 'Sixty Years War' in only one third of the total duration. David Curtis Skaggs 'The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814: An Overview' in David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson (eds.) *The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814* (East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 2001)

[17] Warren R. Hofstra has demonstrated ably that studies of particular backcountry contexts need not become veiled histories of Indian wars. Instead, Hofstra demonstrates that far from being an ever-present threat, violence could be a comparatively unimportant force on the frontier compared to other factors and conditions. Similarly, Kim M. Gruenwald demonstrated in her study of the Ohio frontier in the early nineteenth century that warfare and conflict with the Indians – even in the Ohio Valley – was not an ever-present force, even when a sizable Indian population remained in the region. Warren R. Hofstra *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004) and Gruenwald *Rivers of Enterprise*

newcomers to their lands, but also the culpability of white interlopers in the resulting events.[18] For Brown, the history of America's westward expansion was also a history of American-led wartime atrocities; massacres of Indian populations, forced relocations, and the wanton and deliberate destruction of aboriginal cultures.[19] For the last two decades within the academic sphere much attention has instead been paid to the non-violent forms of interaction which often dominated relations between American settlers and Indian tribes, particularly as analysed by Richard White in *The Middle Ground* and Michael McConnell in *A Country Between*.[20] However, the impact and influence of *Bury My Heart* continues to be felt, particularly in the popular sphere – Brown's book has sold no less than five million copies to-date and even spawned a feature film in 2007.[21] The modern perception of the American frontier as expressed in the media continues to echo Brown's enduring work, a story of repression and imperialistic expansion.[22] Whilst Brown's aim to remedy what he saw as a

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[18] In his review of *Bury My Heart*, Francis Paul Prucha made an interesting observation that remains as applicable today as it did upon its first publication: 'This is the kind of book that would ordinarily not be noticed by scholarly journals...but the wide sales of the book, the praise given it by uncritical and unknowledgeable reviewers, and the advertising of the publishers who hope to have the book used in college courses, prompts careful appraisal of the book and its author's techniques.' Francis Paul Prucha, Review of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* by Dee Brown. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 77 (1972): 589-590

[19] Dee Brown *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (1970; reprint, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2007), pp. xxiii-xxv

[20] McConnell *A Country Between* and White *The Middle Ground*. See also James Axtell *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), James Axtell *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Francis Jennings *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988) and Daniel K. Richter *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992)

[21] Hampton Sides, a modern author of popular western histories such as *Ghost Soldiers* wrote a new foreword for the 2007 (thirteenth) printing of *Bury My Heart*. Although Sides' attack upon the academic world ('lacking the requisite Ph.D. in history, [Brown] wasn't a member of their club. How dare he put out a bestselling pop history without proper deference to the eminent gatekeepers of the field – and without conventional footnotes, to boot...But the joke was on the tweed coats, of course') is intensely polemic and vitriolic it nonetheless makes an important insight into the enduring influence this work has had compared to most academic histories: 'The book has outlasted its critics and held up over two full generations now, proving just as resonant and powerful today...How many conventional histories can boast a thirteenth printing?' Hamton Sides, Foreword to *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (1970; reprint, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2007), pp. xv-xix

[22] To fully explore and contrast modern depictions of European expansion across America compared to those of previous decades would require a space far in excess of that which is available here. Some of the more prominent examples which display this include Steven Spielberg's *Into the West,* a multi-generational answer to John Ford's *How the West was Won,* David Milch's *Deadwood* television series, and the videogame *GUN* which was lambasted by the American Indian Development Associates (AIDA) for allegedly displaying 'derogatory, harmful and inaccurate depictions of American Indians,' within its interactive space. In spite of this criticism it is clear that the Indian characters within this game were instead designed to elicit sympathy from the user owing to their continued victimization. Indeed, the main character is eventually revealed to be half-Indian. See *Into the West*, DVD. Produced by Steven Spielberg, 2005. US: Dreamworks Television, 2005, *How the West was Won*, Blu Ray. Directed by John Ford, Henry Howe and George Marshall, 1962. Lone Pine, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 2008, *Deadwood*, DVD. Created and Produced by David Milch, 2004-2006. Frazier Park, CA: Home Box Office (HBO), 2005-

perennially westward facing historical perspective was certainly laudable, his work instead replaced one directional prejudice with another. Put simply, Brown employed a tomahawk where a scalpel would have been far more appropriate. Reading Brown's work is certainly an evocative experience and, one could argue, a necessary remedy against the prevailing wind of anti-Indian prejudice which existed at the time of its original publication.[23] However, as historians further explore the processes which fuelled the expansion of Europeans across the American continent it becomes increasingly evident that the greatest care must be taken to ensure that the violence created by this process be understood in context.[24] Brown's book may not summarize current academic interpretations of settler-Indian interactions but it does represent a significant undercurrent of thought nonetheless, symbolizing the modern day context in which many historians first come into contact with Native America. So long as Kevin Costner remains the face of the American west historians studying violence on the frontier will have to pay particular attention to the potential prejudices and preconceptions of their readers.

The settlement of Kentucky, western Virginia and the wider trans-Appalachian west often disappears into the larger mist of historiography but it is important nonetheless to place it firmly within the larger context of frontier history and the ever-changing struggle for the backcountry. This is necessary not because the settlement of this region was typical in its violence, but because the level of violence which dominated this area was remarkable.[25] It is

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2007, *GUN*, Xbox 360. Developed by Neversoft, 2005. Woodland Hills, CA: Activision, 2005-2006. For more on the controversy surrounding *GUN* see Aleks Krotoski 'Native Americans File Complaint Against GUN' Guardian Newspaper (Online Edition), http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/gamesblog/2006/feb/15/nativeamerican. Information Retrieved 21:59, August 27th, 2010.

[23] Dean J. Kotlowski 'Alcatraz, Wounded Knee, and Beyond: The Nixon and Ford Administrations Respond to Native American Protest' *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 72 (2003): 201-227

[24] Joshua Piker 'Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Southern Backcountry' *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 70 (2004): 503-540, pp. 503-507

[25] Ian K. Steel's *Warpaths* is a work constructed around the idea that warfare was a near-constant force affecting the development of early America. According to Steele 'Colonial American history was not created in peace and interrupted by war; wars, rumours of war, and costs of war affected every generation of Amerindians and colonists. It is disturbing to recognise that North America was established amid such violence, but this sobering realization is better than accepting sanitized myths that make modern levels of violence seem like moral degeneration from some peaceful colonial, or pre-Arcadia.' Steele's work consistently argues that America was founded amidst significant levels of violence but he rarely emphasises the long stretches of peace most regions enjoyed throughout much of the colonial period. Of course, much of what Steele is arguing is sound, however by painting his argument in the broadest of brushstrokes he presents violence as a lingua-franca of early American social experience when, in actuality, experiences related to war could vary significantly between time and place. Put simply, Steele's conclusion that violence should be recognised as a kind of ever-present force in American history is overstated. Not only did it vary – and diminish – over time, some areas were affected by conflicts far more fundamentally than others. Accepting that violence helped to shape early America is not enough. Instead, it is important to understand that the impact had by violence was not a constant but varied depending upon its intensity, outcome, and sustainability. Ian K. Steele *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. xiii-xiv

not being argued here that the violence which affected the frontier should in any way be played down. On the contrary, this thesis will demonstrate that violence was a key concept in the formation of particular frontier societies. Rather, what is being argued here is that there was no single type of violent experience which defined the American frontier and violence, where it existed, could vary immensely in terms of its reach, duration, and intensity. The narrative of European expansion across America – such as it is – is a collective of interconnected experiences containing a surprising amount of variation within. From war to war, the level of destruction and disruption created by violence could vary significantly and, as such, the impact had upon the involved societies was also prone to significant shifts. For historians Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, frontiers and borderlands may have been, by their very definition, 'contested' zones but it does not follow that violence in the backcountry was thus a universal constant.[26] Instead, violence on the frontier should be understood as the nuanced, varied and often subtle force that it is. Conflict was neither rare nor particularly uncommon in the backcountry but it is equally true that the intensity of that conflict was prone to serious and fundamental variations. In some cases violence on the frontier is conspicuous only by it absence, suggesting that a given context is either comparatively distinct within the broader history of the backcountry, or that the role played by violence has, potentially, been overstated. Although violence is present and correct in many of America's frontier contexts it is also true that those same areas were not necessarily affected by prolonged or long term confrontations.[27] Indeed, even when large scale wars with the Indians did break out, they can rarely be said to have been a defining characteristic of a given region for more than a handful of years.

New England and South Carolina, for example, were both affected by some of the bloodiest Indian wars in colonial history but as frontier interactions go these conflicts were the exception rather than the rule. King Philip's and the Yamasee Wars may have produced

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[26] Although Adelman and Aron's work does not demand the presence of violence, per se, but it does demand the possibility of it. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron 'From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104 (1999): 814-841, pp. 815-816. Adelman and Aron attempt to draw a clear distinction between borderlands and frontiers, however their work does not consistently achieve a solid or rigid distinction between the two concepts. Evan Haefeli 'A Note on the Use of North American Borderlands' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104 (1999): 1222-1225, p. 1222. For a sample of the responses Adelman and Aron received in the public forum held by the *American Historical Review* see Christopher Ebert Schmidt-Nowara 'Borders and Borderlands of Interpretation' *American Historical* Review, Vol. 104 (1999): 1226-1228, John R. Wunder and Pekka Hamalainen 'Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays' *American Historical Review,* Vol. 104 (1999): 1229-1234 and Haefeli 'A Note on the Use of North American Borderlands'

[27] Courtwright *Violent Land*, p. 85

copious numbers of casualties but each conflict lasted only a few years.[28] Frontier wars may have occurred but actual physical contact with violence and periods of prolonged, intercultural conflict were, on balance, rare occurrences.[29] Such a comparative lack of violent contact raises important questions for historians analysing contexts which were affected by wars that were not only bloody, but enduring. Was the struggle for the Kentucky-Ohio region a part of the same broader context of frontier strife as King Philip's War, or does a combination of its duration and intensity mark it as a distinct entity? In some ways the trans-Appalachian west exists in a paradoxical position, evasive though this may seem, as both a single link in a war wearied chain that stretched from 1607 to 1890, and as a distinctive episode which exposed the frontier to periods of unusually intense violence for much longer periods of time than was typically common. This apparent dichotomy appears to demand much more precise categorisation but it is important that this war is seen at once within both of these contexts, simultaneously as a part of a much larger system which saw Europe's children come to culturally and demographically dominate North America, and as a distinctive type of frontier war.

Part of the reason this conflict must be seen in both of these contexts is that the character of not only the individual war but of the overall context is only made manifest when each is studied in relation to the other. The war for Kentucky and its neighbouring regions was indeed a singular component in a much longer process, but its sheer duration reflects how far individual conflicts could differ from the meta-narrative of frontier strife. Within the context of the colonial period the Seven Years War, the Powhatan Raids, and the war for the Kentucky-Ohio region all stand as comparatively distinct episodes in the period before 1795; long term conflicts which massively affected specific frontiers for prolonged periods of time. For the most part, frontier wars did not endure through continuous physical confrontation – King Philip's War lasted less than two years, the Yamasee War less than three and the Tuscarora War less than one. Nor does the apparently high frequency of war in North America negate the relatively short periods of combat. Although a chronological list of backcountry conflicts would certainly present a formidable catalogue of warfare, different conflicts affected different geographic locales at different points in time. King William's War, for instance, may have ended just fourteen years before the outbreak of the Tuscarora War but a significant

[28] Colley *Captives*, pp. 144-147. For discussions concerning the (non-violent) cultural origins of New England see Virginia DeJohn Anderson 'The Origins of New England Culture' *William and Mary* Quarterly, Vol. 48 (1991): 231-237, Virginia DeJohn Anderson *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Fischer *Albion's Seed*, pp. 13-205 and Lepore *The Name of War*, pp. x-xxi, 50

[29] Following the Pequot War in 1637, for instance, a major conflict with the Indians would not affect New England until the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675. Hinderaker and Mancall *At the Edge of Empire*, pp. 26-33

physical distance separated the frontier peoples involved. Even throughout the interconnected struggles between France and Britain during first half of the eighteenth century, different sections of the backcountry suffered at different points in time.[30] Rather than a continuity of experience, then, the different frontier wars fought in North America were united by a continuity of perception, literature and thought.[31] Captivity narratives, woodcuts and colonial newspapers all served to partially link the conflicts which had been fought on the continent's frontiers but one should be careful not to overstate the true social meaning of such continuities – continuing warfare between Anglo-American settlers and the country's aboriginal population was not inevitable.[32]

In contrast to these earlier frontier wars, the Seven Years War was perhaps the first truly long term frontier conflict to develop in what is now the United States since the end of the original Powhatan raids over a century before.[33] Like that earlier conflict, the Seven Years War was an enduring conflict which affected a significant proportion of the frontier population over an extended period of time. Moreover, within the context of the later colonial period the Seven Years War also marked a significant departure from the intercultural status quo, as well as functioning as something of a turning point in settler-Indian relations. In the period before 1764 the Seven Years War was a remarkable occurrence, a conflict whose fallout would go on to affect how the settlers viewed the Indians in the future, not merely as something Other, but as something inherently dangerous.[34] No doubt other settlers had come to similar conclusions over the grand continuity of the Indian wars, but the sheer duration of this conflict meant that large numbers had no choice but to engage with the realities – and fallout – of intercultural

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[30] Merell *Into the American Woods*, pp. 54-157 and Hinderaker and Mancall *At the Edge of Empire*, pp. 73-97

[31] Lepore *The Name of War*, pp. 191-225

[32] Ascertaining how far a specific narrative – or body of narratives – was read by settlers in areas such as Virginia is a near impossible task. That said it is clear that settlers did turn to books in order to entertain as well as to enlighten. In 1769, for example, Daniel Boone and members of his party read passages from *Gulliver's Travels* to one another as they explored the still-unsettled Kentucky country. Settlers demonstrated a keen awareness of the most important, then-current captivity narratives to enter print. When John Knight, for example, moved to Kentucky he was often asked to expand upon his published narrative, particularly relating to the infamous death of William Crawford in 1782. Clearly, his narrative was not an unknown quantity in Kentucky even if it was not published locally. The New England narratives may or may not have been read by a significant number of settlers but, like the then-current narratives being consumed, they contributed to a broader cultural understanding of Indian warfare. See Howard H. Peckham 'Books and Reading on the Ohio Valley Frontier' *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 44 (1958): 649-663, p. 651 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain Marcus Richardson' Draper Manuscripts 12CC127. For the non-inevitability of conflict between settlers and Indians see Francis Jennings *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990), p. xvi

[33] For the impact of the Powhatan raids from 1607 until 1622 see John Grenier *First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 21-23

[34] Ward *Breaking the* Backcountry, pp. 1-5

warfare as opposed to merely engaging with recorded accounts of this phenomena.[35] By the middle of the eighteenth century Indian wars were no longer limited to print, but a reality to which many were forced to adapt. Certainly, narratives and other printed accounts relating to past conflicts served as a link between the contemporary population and past wars with the Indians. However, the coming of a conflict as widespread and enduring as the Seven Years War served to significantly reduce the degree of separation between a given backcountry settler and the realities of combat.[36]

By the mid-1750s the proportion of backcountry settlers who had directly experienced the effects of warfare against the Indians was rising rapidly, whilst those still not directly affected by the fighting often shared a familial or fraternal relationship with those who were. Although the substitution of one second-hand source for another may appear trivial, the information passed on by family members, friends and acquaintances – as opposed to writers to whom a given reader had no connection – served to further reduce the perceived distance between the frontier population and the war with the Indians. By the early 1760s the printed word was no longer the sole or primary means through which backcountry settlers were exposed to intercultural warfare. Instead, this medium was joined and, likely, superseded by widespread firsthand experience and oral accounts delivered by survivors and veterans of the fighting.[37] Rufus Putnam, a key early settler of Ohio, carried memories of the Indian attacks he had witnessed during this war throughout his entire adult life and, when reflecting upon wartime massacres, he would lament that 'I think there are few if any who can view such scenes with indifference.'[38] This analysis was not inaccurate. When Logan of the Mingo heard that his family had been slaughtered at Yellow Creek his response could be said to have been many things, but indifferent it certainly was not.[39]

The Seven Years War may have marked an important turning point in settler-Indian relations but the war that was waiting to begin in 1774 would serve to irrevocably alienate these peoples. Rather than years of fighting, the struggle for Kentucky and its neighbouring areas would be measured in decades; even among long term frontier wars the struggle for

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[35] John Grenier, for instance, has also argued that racism towards Indians developed as a consequence of warfare upon the frontier. Grenier, however, argues that race was a force on the frontier by the mid-eighteenth century without offering any particular evidence to support this claim. Grenier *First Way of War*, pp. 11-12

[36] Fred Anderson *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Random House, 2001)

[37] For example of accounts from the Seven Years War being passed on to descendents see John D. Shane 'Interview with John Crawford' Draper Manuscripts 12CC156-157

[38] Rufus Putnam 'Memoirs of the Putnam Family' Marietta College Collection, 1776-1847, MIC 48, Reel One, p. 19, Ohio Historical Society

[39] Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24

Kentucky and its neighbours was distinct. Although the entire period starting with the Seven Years War and ending with War of 1812 has been described convincingly by David Curtis Skaggs, Larry L. Nelson, and a spectrum of collaborators as a Sixty Years War, there is still much value in identifying within that period a number of self contained, distinct conflicts.[40] Rather than a definitive category, the Sixty Years War is something of an umbrella concept, bringing numerous conflicts which occurred during a period of increased hostilities under the same conceptual banner.[41] Even within this context, however, the battle to settle Kentucky and southern Ohio was made distinctive by its duration. Indeed, the struggle to settle this region was not just a keystone event during this sixty year period but was a keystone in the overarching struggle between Anglo-Americans and the Indian population of North America, focusing earlier anti-Indian perspectives whilst laying a social foundation for later racial attitudes towards this group. But where the Seven Years War developed out of a grand imperial struggle between Britain and France, the war for the Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian west developed and perpetuated itself independently from a repressive or overbearing political framework, by far outlasting the two political wars – the American Revolution and Dunmore's War – which catalysed it.

Treaties may have been signed which brought both of these wars to an official end, but on the ground the efforts of diplomats, go-betweens, and politicians amounted to little more than the production of scraps of paper. Quite literally this was a war driven from the ground-up, not the top down; a people's war, not from a Marxist perspective but from a social one. Top-down forces may explain why states, governments and international powers go to war but they rarely explain why a given member of the rank-and-file, such as those who pre-empted Dunmore's actions in 1774, did so. Similarly, broad theoretical concepts such as the release of pre-Revolutionary tensions suggested by Eric Hinderaker and Peter Mancall fail to suitably account, in real terms, for the motivation of men such as Daniel Greathouse and Michael Cresap. Worse still, such concepts are loaded, denying the Mingo and the Shawnee agency in this affair. To be sure, Hinderaker and Mancall's interpretation sheds much light on specific aspects surrounding the outbreak of Dunmore's War, but it does not illuminate the full, or even the largest part of the picture.[42] Dunmore's War was not fought on one level

[40] A more accurate, although admittedly less thought provoking description of the years between 1754 and 1814 would be as a period increased violence. It is not being argued here that the concept of a Sixty Years War is not useful, but rather it needs to be qualified appropriately when employed. Skaggs 'The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes' in David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson (eds.) *The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814* (East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 1-14

[41] Larry L. Nelson and David Curtis Skaggs 'Introduction' in David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson (eds.) *The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814* (East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. xxv

[42] Hinderaker and Mancall *At the Edge of Empire*, pp. 125-160

alone. For different groups the war appeared as a very different beast, fulfilling very different agendas. For the political élite it allowed them an opportunity to claim massive portions of hitherto forbidden lands in the west. For Dunmore, it presented an opportunity to re-direct the pre-Revolutionary tensions of his subordinates.[43] For the Shawnee it was an opportunity to assert their independence from the Iroquois Confederacy and, with that, their ownership of Kentucky.[44] For the Mingo, Dunmore's War concerned their desire to avenge the massacre at Yellow Creek and for many western settlers the war was an opportunity to attack the Indians responsible for the renewed violence which was now plaguing the frontier.[45] Of course there could be significant overlap between these different perspectives, particularly where land ownership was concerned, but for many settlers this war developed because an increase in Indian raids seemed to demand a like response in order to ensure the continued security of their communities.[46]

In the years since *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee's* original publication, Dee Brown's claxon call for historians to face 'eastward' when writing frontier history has produced a copious and often seminal body of work in its wake, but to fully understand how social mechanisms helped to produce what was one of North America's most violent frontier wars, one must neither face east nor west but must instead look from the bottom up, taking in all of the competing perspectives together.[47] To look in any one direction is an action which necessarily takes place at the expense of another group, and the true social significance of these wars cannot be understood with one's back to any group of people, settlers or Indians alike. As individuals, Logan and Greathouse may have played significant roles in the outbreak of Dunmore's War but these two men are more appropriately viewed as representatives of movements rather than agents of individual whim. Neither Greathouse nor Logan was alone when they went to war. Each represents a groundswell movement for war among their people, and each of those individuals represents the power of bottom-up forces in driving communities towards conflict.

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[43] Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 99

[44] Randolph C. Downes *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (1940; reprint, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), pp. 153-156

[45] Nester *The Frontier War for American Independence*, pp. 56-57, Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24, John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore 'Lord Dunmore's Official Report to the Earl of Dartmouth, December 24th, 1774' in Thwaites and Kellogg (eds.) *Documentary History of Dunmore's* War, pp. 378-379, and John D. Shane 'Interview with John Crawford' Draper Manuscripts 12CC156-157

[46] For a discussion on the importance of landownership and the outbreak of Dunmore's War see Holton *Forced Founders*, pp. 28-35

[47] Brown *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, p. Xxiv

From a broad perspective, the settlers targeting the Kentucky country in the early 1770s were entering a world which they were largely convinced they had, if not a God given right then at least some legal basis upon which to settle and claim lands.[48] In recent years a number of negotiations and treaties, particularly the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, appeared to have succeeded in undermining the Proclamation Line which divided Indian from colonial territories. Rather than being defined by the Appalachian Mountains, recent agreements between colonial authorities and specific tribal groups had instead redefined the dividing line as the Ohio River, brining Kentucky, western Virginia and western Pennsylvania firmly into the Anglo-American sphere. Moreover, it even appeared that this circumvention had been achieved with significant tribal consent.[49] The actual situation, however, was far more complex and from the perspective of most tribes residing in the Ohio country, the aspiring settlers of the west had no basis – legal or otherwise – to claim or settle their southern lands. Although void of any permanent habitations or townships, Kentucky served as a key hunting ground for a number of northern tribes, none of whom had consented to the sale of this region.[50] Similarly, the Cherokee in the south likewise claimed this territory for the same purpose.[51] Thus caught between traditional enemies, the Shawnee and Cherokee, Kentucky became something of a communal no mans' land between the northern and the southern Indians, at once a shared hunting ground and a buffer between these antagonistic groups.[52] As key as this territory was within the aboriginal landscape, however, the lack of permanent habitation was fundamentally misunderstood by the newly arrived settlers. Finding a region void of Indian townships appeared to confirm not only the availability of the land, but the recent treaties which had ostensibly renounced all Indian claims to the territory.

Beginning with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, members of the colonial élite initiated a process designed to circumvent the 1763 Proclamation Line. Presuming to speak for

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[48] For public notices and discussions concerning the Treaty of Fort Stanwix see *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), September 15th, 1768, p.2, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 1st, 1768, p. 2, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 25th, 1769, p. 3 and *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), May 25th, 1769, p. 2

[49] 'Treaty of Fort Stanwix: Boundary Line Between the Whites and Indians, 1768. Deed Executed at Fort Stanwix November 5th, 1768. Establishing a Boundary Line Between the Whites and Indians, of the Northern Colonies' in E.B. O'Callaghan (ed.) *The Documentary History of New York; Arranged Under the Direction of the Hon. Christopher Morgan, Secretary of State, Vol. 1* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1849), pp. 587-591.

[50] Collin G. Calloway *The Shawnee and the War for America* (New York: Viking, 2007), p. 45

[51] John Filson *Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky to Which is Added the Adventures of Daniel Boon* (Wilmington: James Adams, 1784), pp. 87-98, Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 8-9

[52] For antagonism between the Shawnee and Cherokee see *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 18th, 1768, p. 2. See also Ian K. Steele 'Shawnee Origins of Their Seven Year War' *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 53 (2006): 657-687, Holton *Forced Founders*, pp. 16-18, Clark *The Shawnee*, pp. 62-71 and Perdue *Cherokee Women*, pp. 89-95. Regarding Kentucky's state as a buffer between the northern and southern Indians (Shawnee and Cherokee, primarily) see Filson *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky*, p. 8

the Shawnee, Mingo, and Delaware, the Iroquois Confederacy agreed at Fort Stanwix to cede its tenuous claims to lands south of the Ohio River in exchange for recognition of their own territorial borders.[53] Iroquois claims to the Ohio Valley were based not upon actual use or occupation of the territory but stemmed instead from past military victories in the region.[54] With no provisions made in the negotiations for the opinions, desires and needs of the region's actual inhabitants, the subsequent treaty was worth little in real terms, particularly as large portions of the Shawnee – one of the most conservative of the northern tribes – refused to recognise the right of the Iroquois to negotiate on their behalf.[55] The treaty may have been a thinly veiled attempt on the part of the Iroquois to deflect illegal settlement away from their own lands and into the Ohio Valley but it did, nevertheless, provide the necessary pretence for a legitimate settler invasion of the Kentucky country.[56] For both the land hungry farmers of the backcountry and speculators alike, the quasi-legal acquisition of an apparently vacant territory came as a significant boon. Throughout the 1760s would-be western settlers had consistently ignored the Proclamation Line, squatting on lands which were officially recognised as Indian territories.[57] Although attempts by the British army to evict squatters had proven to be a mostly futile exercise, the legal acquisition of the Kentucky country presented that same class of individuals with an opportunity to not only settle on high quality western lands, but – crucially – to claim legal ownership of them.[58] For many of the Indians residing in the Ohio country, however, the idea that Kentucky had been transferred from aboriginal to Euro-American control was rejected outright. Indeed, resistance to the sale was so great that the Shawnee began the difficult process of transforming their traditional enemies, the Cherokee, into staunch allies.[59] For many Indians, then, there was simply no question as to who controlled the coveted Kentucky country – in that one respect at least, it was status quo ante bellum for the tribes. At least until the settlers arrived.

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[53] 'Treaty of Fort Stanwix,' p. 587

[54] Daniel K. Richter 'War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 40 (1983): 528-559 and Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, pp. 7-10

[55] Calloway *The Shawnee and the War for America*, pp. 44-48

[56] 'Treaty of Fort Stanwix,' pp. 587-588, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), March 3rd, 1768, p. 3 and *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), June 16th, 1768, p. 2. See also Calloway *The Shawnee and the War for America*, p. 45

[57] 'The greatest grievance complained of by the Indians was the neglect of the confirmation of the boundary they had agreed to some years since, which was much aggravated by white peoples settling on their land,' *Virginia Gazette*(Purdie and Dixon), April 28th, 1768, p. 2

[58] For accounts of settler eviction from Indian lands see *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), October 25th, 1768, p. 1, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 1st, 1766, p. 2 and *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), June 16th, 1768, p. 2

[59] Woody Holton 'The Ohio Indians and the Coming of the American Revolution in Virginia' *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 60 (1994): 453-478 pp. 462-466 and Calloway *The Shawnee and the War for America*, pp. 44-46

Throughout the late 1760s explorers and long hunters such as Daniel Boone faced significant resistance from the Indians they encountered in the disputed territory and, on more than one occasion, such early explorers were taken into custody and relieved of the furs and skins which they had harnessed in the region.[60] In other, more serious cases however, the tension over who had the right to hunt, explore and operate west of the Proclamation Line led to outbreaks of more pronounced episodes of violence. In 1769 John Stewart, Daniel Boone's brother-in-law and close companion, disappeared in the wilderness, the presumed victim of an Indian attack. According to members of Boone's family, the loss of Stewart led the pioneer to undertake an uncharacteristic act of petty revenge when he apparently shot and killed the first isolated Indian he encountered following his friend's disappearance.[61] In that same year 'some evil disposed and disorderly persons' were accredited with the killing no less than sixteen members of the Delaware and Mingo tribes, a series of atrocities which many on the frontier feared would bring about open hostilities.[62] Such incidents certainly had the potential to spark wider conflicts but the tiny handful of Euro-American hunters and speculators actually in Kentucky, probably not more than one or two dozen persons, served to minimize violent contact and, for the most part, sporadic outbreaks of violence in the region remained highly localised affairs.[63] By the early 1770s, however, the strong desire among many colonists for western lands led directly to a marked increase in the level of human traffic passing through the country, something which allowed the festering tensions of previous years to find new avenues of expression.[64] In 1773, many of these tensions came to a head when Daniel Boone led an expedition to establish the first permanent Euro-American settlement in Kentucky. For all concerned the expedition was a disaster.

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[60] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 52

[61] Stewart's body was not discovered until 1775; appropriately, the discovery of his bones, bearing a knife mark over the skull where he was scalped (he was identified by his characteristic powder horn) was one of the earliest discoveries made following the establishment of a permanent Euro-American settlement in the region. When Boone retaliated for the disappearance of his companion – by murdering a lone Indian – Stewart's remains would not be discovered for another six years. Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 29-32

[62] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), October 5th, 1769, p. 2

[63] Prior to the Yellow Creek massacre, Logan had lost other relatives to white settlers. Rather than initiating a vendetta, as he did in 1774, he instead attempted to maintain peace between his tribe and the British. Although Logan's role in starting Dunmore's War may not suggest it, he was a strong advocate for peace and accommodation. His later actions, however, demonstrate that earlier atrocities could have feasibly sparked a widespread frontier war prior to 1774. 'Letter from Logan to Michael Cresap, July 21st, 1774. Recorded by Harry Innes, copied into a letter from Innes to Thomas Jefferson, March 2nd, 1799' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 246. Details of the number of hunters and speculators operating in Kentucky in the late 1760s are few and far between, but accounts such as Daniel Boone's narrative indicate that the number was very small indeed. Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 51-54

[64] 'Letter from John Brown to Colonel William Preston, May 5th, 1775' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ15 and John D. Shane 'Interview with James Wade' Draper Manuscripts 12CC11

After travelling through the wilderness for a little of over two weeks, Boone's party divided into three smaller groups which quickly became separated by a distance of some miles. On October the 10th the rear party, straggling behind the two leading bands, was attacked by a group of Indians – very possibly Cherokee.[65] Until this point, growing tensions surrounding the ownership of western lands such as Kentucky had primarily affected long hunters and pioneers in isolation, not their families or wider social networks. The attack upon the Boone party, however, served as something of a turning point not only because it left half a dozen settlers dead following a pseudo-massacre, but because the party as a whole included women and children among its number. Although none of the expedition's women were among the rear party, two teenage boys – Henry, the son of William Russell and James, Daniel Boone's sixteen year old boy – were among the casualties.[66] '[S]hot through his hips,' the younger Boone was left helpless but alive next to a similarly injured Henry as almost all of their other companions were killed around them. Of the men who comprised the rear party only one escaped unscathed, a slave who was forced to 'hid[e] in the driftwood in the creek,' where he observed Boone's and Russell's subsequent capture.[67] Following the initial attack the two injured boys were taken prisoner by an Indian named Big Jim, a well known acquaintance of the Boone family. Regardless of 'old friendships,' James' pleas for mercy appear to have fallen upon deaf ears and in short order the attacking party proceeded to torture the two survivors by pulling 'out the[ir] toenails and fingernails.' Initially, James had begged Big Jim for his life, but by the time the torture was applied he instead pleaded with the Indians to 'kill him at once and put him out of his misery.' Following an exhausting round of torture, the two boys were 'severely stabbed all to pieces and...tomahawked.'[68] The effect of this assault upon the rest of the group was devastating. Confusion and fear ran rampant as the settlers gathered together, fortified themselves and awaited a follow-up attack which never materialised. The Indians may not have reappeared but the near-complete destruction of the rear party combined with the returned slave's firsthand account of the Boone and Russell boys' capture, torture, and execution provided the remaining settlers with all the reason they needed to abandon their designs upon Kentucky. To sharpen the group's despair, they were informed by their returned

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[65] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 39, *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 24th, 1774, p. 3 and *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), January 26th, 1775, p. 3

[66] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 39-41

[67] ibid, p. 39. Of the eight men who comprised the rear party one (the slave) escaped unharmed, one was wounded and the remaining six were all killed. It appears that young Boone and Russell were the only individuals to be tortured before being dispatched. Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 57

[68] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 39-41

slave that James had died believing that his 'mother, brothers and sisters were all killed by the Indians.'[69]

Driven back east, the Boone party carried panic in its wake.[70] Incidents such as the massacre of the rear group served to spread fear and apprehension across the backcountry but the specific actions of Big Jim and his associates, particularly the torture and execution of Henry and James, served to develop the situation a stage further, radicalising portions of the frontier community. Conflict and death had certainly occurred west of the Appalachians in the years immediately preceding this latest attack but the indiscriminate ferocity associated with this episode was seen by some as evidence that the Indians were initiating a new frontier war. As 1773 drew to a close, the attack upon the Boone party and the torture of the teenagers came to be powerful symbols in the settlers' collective imagination, potent images which spoke of imminent raids and butchered communities.[71] If, by their actions, the Indians had meant to send the settlers a warning concerning their attempts to settle on western lands, they had inadvertently sent them a declaration instead.[72] Even as colonists across Virginia – Kentucky would form the western most portion of Virginia until it achieved statehood in 1792 – watched events building towards Revolution, they were made all too aware that the inhabitants of the backcountry were anticipating a fresh wave of Indian raids the following spring.[73] Indian war parties rarely formed in the winter and, as such, the period following the return of the Boone party and the next seasonal change became a kind of historical blind spot – until the winter passed, revealing the Indians' intentions, the inhabitants of the backcountry simply did not know whether the massacre of Boone's rear party was an isolated incident or evidence of renewed warfare on the frontier.

In the colonial imagination the line between what had actually occurred and what might happen was often paper thin and the resulting belief that a war could very well be

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[69] ibid pp. 39-45

[70] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), December 23rd, 1773, p. 3

[71] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 24th, 1774, p. 3 and *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), January 26th, 1775, p. 3

[72] There is at least some evidence to suggest that the destruction of the rear party was meant to send a message to the two remaining bands – not to mention every other would-be western settler. First, it is perhaps significant that the expected follow-up attack upon the remaining settlers did not occur. Of course it is certainly possible that the Indians did not know the location of these other groups – though they had certainly been shadowing the rear party for at least a day. It is also possible that prudence proved the better part of valour – the rear party were surprised and, thus, utterly destroyed whereas the remaining settlers readied themselves for an attack. However, the particular actions of Big Jim – killing and torturing a known son of Daniel Boone, a pioneer who had been captured and evicted from Kentucky several times before – could also suggest the transmission of a clear non-settlement message. In addition to being killed, the bodies of the boys were 'mangled in an inhuman manner' and placed next to 'a dart-arrow, and a war club,' symbols of aggression which might suggest the threatened fate of any settler who hoped to settle on Indian lands. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), December 23rd, 1773, p. 3

[73] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 2nd, 1773, p. 1

inevitable – or that one had already broken out – did not bode well for intercultural relations the following year. Indeed, news of the Boone Party's defeat and, specifically, the death and torture of Henry Russell were quickly 'disseminated through the country' before being encapsulated in a public call to arms against the backcountry's 'treacherous and clandestine foes' which appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* the following March. According to the newspaper's enraged correspondent, the conflict which he envisioned was 'necessary, nay, inevitable.' Failing to recognise that the Boone party had been attacked whilst trespassing with the intention of illegally settling upon Indian land, or that numerous Indians had been killed in a series of atrocities over the preceding decade, the writer of this incendiary piece demanded a pre-emptive strike against the colony's presumed enemies. '[S]hould we,' he demanded incredulously, 'tamely suffer those savages to be the first invaders[?]'[74] Of course, the 'first invaders' in this episode were the Boone party, not the Indians. Crucially, this correspondent was not alone in ignoring this factor.

Around the same time that the author of this anti-Indian tirade was preparing his words for publication a number of settlers were preparing to take the security of the backcountry into their own hands.[75] The context surrounding the attack upon the Boone party was of little consequence to these individuals and prior atrocities committed by the settlers were quickly forgotten or ignored. Conversely, acts of aggression made by the Indians – real and imagined – quickly found a canonical place within the community's vibrant oral culture.[76] All across the backcountry the war with the Indians, something which had yet to actually begin, started to take on a life of its own, even as Dunmore procrastinated and schemed about how he might best employ such a scenario to suit his own ends. In Castlewood, in the south western portion of Virginia, families were beginning to abandon their homes and possessions, convinced as they were that a war with the Indians had, essentially, already begun.[77]

From the perspective of most western Indians, however, the situation had not advanced so far. Although many among the northern tribes perceived themselves as victims of

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[74] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 24th, 1774, p. 3

[75] 'Letter from Ebenezer Zane to the Honourable John Brown, February 4th, 1800' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 249

[76] Although it was the attack upon the Boone party which made the largest impact upon contemporary sources, other incendiary incidents from this period were remembered, shared, and passed on to descendents. James Wade, although only two years old at the time, would inform John Shane in the 1830s of his family's attempts to settle the Greenbriar region in western Virginia, detailing the abandonment of the country as early 1772. He also detailed the unhappy fate of the few settlers who refused to fall back 'over the mountains.' John D. Shane 'Interview with James Wade' Draper Manuscripts 12CC11-12. See also 'Deposition of John Gibson, recorded by Jeremiah Barker, April 14th, 1800' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 247

[77] 'Letter from Captain Daniel Smith to Colonel William Preston, March 22nd, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ15

an illegal attempt to usurp their lands they often demonstrated significant levels of restraint when confronted with the vanguards of settlement. When a group of Indians spied Lawrence Darnell, Thomas Glen, and William Nash moving down the southern edge of the Ohio River near the end of April, for instance, they made no attempt to lay in ambush or to otherwise physically harm the group. Instead the three men were apprehended and simply 'ordered off' of Indian land.[78] Of this group, Lawrence Darnell was actually a double recipient of Indian restraint – several weeks prior to this incident he had been captured along with half a dozen other settlers under similar circumstances by the Shawnee. Like his later capture, neither Darnell nor any of his companions came to any harm. Instead the group was relieved of their property following a three day detention before being sent back to the colonies.[79] True, these incidents certainly suggest a high level of tension in the region, but for the most part the northern Indians were able to manage their grievances internally whilst still resisting the land violations which were becoming increasingly common. It should also be remembered that the incendiary attack upon the Boone party appears to have been carried out by the southern Cherokee rather than their northern counterparts.[80] Although significant factions within a number of the northern tribes were beginning to agitate for war, the internal diplomatic efforts made by chiefs such as Logan of the Mingo and White Eyes of the Delaware served to assuage most young warriors from brash action or irresponsible retribution.[81] Only on one side of the frontier was the war already beginning to be perceived as a reality.

Whether justified or not, an increasing number of settlers were beginning to identify a state of open hostilities in the backcountry and, accordingly, many began readying themselves to strike back against their adversaries. Michael Cresap, a veteran of Pontiac's Rebellion whose brother had been killed by the Indians, took up the burgeoning frontier war with aplomb, leading a band of followers in a series of attacks upon the Indians near the town of Wheeling, western Virginia.[82] By far the most prominent of these early wartime atrocities, however, was the Yellow Creek massacre carried out by Daniel Greathouse and his followers at the end of April upon the unsuspecting relatives – women and children included – of the Mingo peace advocate, Logan.[83] Although Cresap was not present at this massacre, he and his men did compound the incident by attacking a group of retreating Mingo Indians who had

[78] 'Letter from John Floyd to William Preston, April 26th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ19 and 'Journal of Thomas Hanson, entry April 26th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 14J58-84
[79] 'Letter from John Floyd to William Preston, April 26th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ19
[80] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 24th, 1774, p. 3 and *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), January 26th, 1775, p. 3
[81] Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24 and John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore 'Lord Dunmore's Official Report to the Earl of Dartmouth, December 24th, 1774' in Thwaites and Kellogg (eds.) *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, p. 384
[82] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Crawford' Draper Manuscripts 12CC158
[83] Robert G. Parkinson 'From Indian Killer to Worthy Citizen: The Revolutionary Transformation of Michael Cresap' *William and Mary* Quarterly, Vol. 63 (2006): 99-125, pp. 99-100

witnessed the slaughter from a hidden vantage point on the opposite side of the river. Gathering men at Wheeling, Cresap had set off down the Ohio on a self proclaimed mission to destroy Indians and it is perhaps an unfortunate coincidence that the first group he and his party encountered were witnesses to the Yellow Creek affair. Although Cresap's band succeeded in taking the life of another Mingo, they failed to stop the remainder of the retreating party from returning to their village and delivering the news of the massacre – and its follow up attack – to Logan. Although most of the northern Indians had continued to demonstrate significant levels of restraint in the early spring, the news of the Yellow Creek massacre sparked Logan's personal war against the inhabitants of the frontier, a campaign which would grow to involve not only members of the Mingo, but large numbers of the Shawnee as well.[84] By May, then, an increasing number of individuals – settlers and Indians alike – were operating in a state of open but undeclared hostilities. Settling in for the long haul, Michael Cresap began informing the inhabitants of Grave Creek that the 'Indians wo'd kill them all,' inspiring many to fall back to more secure locations. He even asked one retreating father to surrender his son to him so that he might 'raise [the boy] for the war.'[85] Even from this early stage, the battle for the Ohio Valley was taking on shades of an intercultural blood feud.

With Logan set on the path for war and Cresap and his followers summarily ambushing, executing, and killing Indians, panic spread further across the frontier and even in locations where the conflict was yet to leave a physical mark, it was beginning to leave a mental one. When eighteen settlers were killed by the Shawnee in June it was reported in the *Virginia Gazette* that as many as '1500 families' were on the verge of abandoning the backcountry as a result.[86] Although this figure appears grossly excessive, it underlines how a comparatively limited number of casualties could help to generate an endemic sense of alarm on the frontier. The number of families who fled the backcountry likely did not approach fifteen hundred, but a significant number did flee the region nonetheless with many more abandoning farms in order to take refuge in communal fortifications.[87] Indeed, James Harrod founded the first Euro-American settlement in Kentucky that year but as hostilities between the colonists and Indians spiralled out of control he was forced to abandon it, and the Kentucky country, until the following spring.[88] The actual level of fighting was, by this point,

[84] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), June 23rd, 1774, p. 4
[85] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Crawford' Draper Manuscripts 12CC158
[86] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), July 7th, 1774, p. 3
[87] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Crawford' Draper Manuscripts 12CC158-159
[88] Robert B. McAfee 'The Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family and Connections written by Himself. Commenced April 23rd, 1845' Robert B. McAfee Papers 62W6, University of Kentucky Archive,

still relatively limited but, this notwithstanding, a growing number of frontier inhabitants were beginning to perceive a state of open hostilities that required immediate action.[89] As Dunmore contemplated entering the fray, Cresap and his followers continued to wreak havoc up and down the Ohio River, firing upon any Indian they encountered. In one particular instance, a settler named Stephens was almost killed when Cresap and his men opened fire upon the two peaceful Indians with whom he was travelling. According to Stephens, his near death experience stemmed from Cresap's promise 'to put every Indian to Death he should meet,' an action which would almost certainly produce grievances much like those which were – even then – driving Logan to wage war on the settlers of the backcountry.[90]

With every casualty sustained, the early combatants of Dunmore's War ensured that grievances were stacked upon grievances, opening up the conflict to larger groups on both sides. When Dunmore finally entered the fray in the autumn, he forced that system to its natural conclusion. By fielding large numbers of settlers against the Indians at the Battle of Point Pleasant, he was drawing upon one tidal movement of social forces whilst laying the foundation for another by providing thousands of individuals with a near-simultaneous opportunity to inflict and receive multiple harms of their own. For that reason alone, the battle of Point Pleasant became the most far reaching event to occur on the frontier that year, bringing together thousands of settlers and Indians in shared animosity.[91] Problematically, that animosity was not laid to rest by the confrontation and, through casualties sustained, new resentments were able to plant roots on the battlefield. Dunmore's settler army ultimately claimed the field at Point Pleasant but the day-long battle nonetheless took a significant toll upon the governor's force. More than one settler commented upon the ferocity of the Indians during the battle, whilst the bodies generated by the confrontation were a vivid, unavoidable reminder to the settlers that, even in victory, they had lost much at Indian hands. Boasts of battlefield bravado may have abounded following the Indians' retreat but the sights and sounds of the claimed field served to check unqualified celebrations.[92]

According to one field officer, William Fleming, '[t]he cries of the wounded prevented our resting' the night of the battle. Indeed, Fleming had firsthand experience of the distressing mutilations and wounds which were created by the confrontation; after being shot, he had to

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p. 32 and 'Letter from Colonel William Christian to William Preston, July 12th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ63

[89] *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), May 26th, 1774, p. 2

[90] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 2nd, 1774, p. 2

[91] 'List of Volunteers' Evan Shelby Papers 55W21, University of Kentucky Archives

[92] 'Letter from William Christian, October 15th, 1774' Bullitt Family Papers A/B 937c, Filson Historical Society and 'Letter from William Fleming to William Bowyer, September, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 2ZZ7

push part of his own lung 'as long as one of my fingers,' back into his own chest.[93] Victory may have been attained, but so too was there no shortage of horrors to be dwelled upon in letters, and later in thought.[94] Similarly, the defeated Shawnee returned to Ohio with experience, memory, and perceptions which had been sharpened, not dulled, by the battle.[95] Point Pleasant may have effectively brought Dunmore's War to a close but in real terms it had served to exponentially expand the number of persons affected by frontier combat.[96] Superficially, Dunmore and the settlers of the backcountry had won the war. In real terms, however, they had helped to lay the groundwork for continuing resentment and intercultural animosity between themselves, the Shawnee, and the Mingo.

Such realties, however, were not evident to those on the ground.[97] Having gained the field at Point Pleasant, Dunmore was quick to press his advantage and, in short order, he led his forces north of the Ohio River to the Shawnee town of Chillicothe. Having already suffered defeat, the tribe quickly capitulated and, as a means of securing their town from destruction, a number of chiefs agreed to confirm the controversial terms of the Fort Stanwix treaty.[98] This final legislative victory, however, all but ensured a continuation of hostilities between the most militant Indians and settlers. Dunmore may have ostensibly secured a renewed legal basis upon which the settlement of western lands could resume, but the treaty upon which he relied meant little to a significant proportion of the Shawnee and Mingo.[99] Moreover, by apparently securing regions such as Kentucky which were – in reality – hotly disputed, Dunmore effectively helped to facilitate regular contact between settlers and Indians who shared very recent experiences fighting and killing one another. Although Dunmore's War is typically considered to be a distinct conflict from the American Revolution, for many on the ground

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[93] 'Letter from William Fleming to William Bowyer, September, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 2ZZ7

[94] 'Letter from Captain William Ingles to Colonel William Preston, October 14th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ121

[95] 'Letter from Captain William Russell to Colonel William Fleming, June 12th, 1775' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ19

[96] Aside from the combatants and even their relatives in the colonies, the impact of the battle of Point Pleasant could even be felt in Dumfries, Scotland where William Fleming's family agonised over the unknown fate of their son. See 'Letter from Leonard Fleming to an Unknown Recipient, January 17th, 1775' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society

[97] It should be noted that John Penn, writing to the Shawnee in august, did demonstrate a remarkable degree of foresight and understanding which many of his contemporaries lacked: 'It is a wicked Thing to kill innocent People, because some of their country men have been wicked, and killed some of you...If you continue to act in this Manner the People of Virginia must do the same Thing to you, and by then there will be nothing but War between you.' Of course Penn was not likely discussing or reflecting upon the bottom-up agency of the settlers, but more likely the response he would expect from colonial authorities – the embodiment of 'the People.' See 'Letter from Governor John Penn to the Shawnees, August 6th, 1774' in Emily Foster (ed.) *The Ohio Frontier: An Anthology of Early Writings* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), p. 41

[98] Griffin *American Leviathan*, pp. 119-120

[99] 'Letter from Captain William Russell to Colonel William Fleming, June 12th, 1775' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ19

there was little to differentiate the fighting which occurred in 1774 from that which took place from 1775 onwards.[100] Logan may have 'fully glutted [his] vengeance' by the end of that conflict but many of his fellow tribesmen were far from sated.[101]

Rather than drawing a line under Dunmore's War, it is important that the continuity between this conflict and the subsequent battle for the Ohio Valley be emphasised. Fighting may have stopped for the winter, but this was not an unusual situation as Indian hunting habits, not to mention the difficulties of travelling during this season, tended to ensure that seasonal breaks from combat were regular occurrences. By re-legitimizing the settler presence in the west, however, Dunmore set the stage for continued contact between groups of aggrieved individuals in the disputed territory. Veterans of Dunmore's War – settlers and Indians alike – found themselves competing for resources and, ultimately, control of the Kentucky country the following year, a situation which made the resumption of hostilities all the more likely. Declarations of victory against the settlers' 'cruel and insidious enemy' could not have been more premature.[102]

Throughout 1775 a renewed settler push west of Appalachian Mountains saw the setbacks of the preceding years reversed in a fashion that, whilst not spectacular, was certainly convincing. Throughout this year settlers streamed into the Kentucky country at a slow but steady rate, founding a number of important settlements which collectively acted as a beachhead for further colonisation. Although disproportionately male in its demographic makeup, this movement onto western lands, which probably amounted to less than two hundred persons, carried with it the basic components required of a stable society; families.[103] Although family groups may have made up a minority of the early population, they generally entered the region in order to form permanent habitations and communities. Profiteering in the form of land speculation and ownership was certainly a motivation for many of those heading west, but once there their day-to-day lives often tended to concern the survival of both of the individual and of the community. With wagons unable to pass through the Cumberland Gap, early settlers could bring with them only a limited amount of resources and,

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[100] Peter Mancall and Eric Hinderaker argue that continuity existed between Dunmore's War and the American Revolution, however their argument does not concern the war with the Indians. Instead, Hinderaker and Mancall argue that it was the settlers' desire for independence in the west which connected these wars, not their violent relationship with the Indians. Hinderaker and Mancall *At the Edge of Empire*, p. 160

[101] 'Speech Attributed to Logan' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, pp. 68-69

[102] *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), December 8th, 1774, p. 3

[103] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 57-60. For the estimated population of Kentucky see Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (1932; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), p. 192

as such, they became heavily reliant upon the local area to furnish their needs.[104] Similarly, specific skill sets were limited by the individuals that travelled into the country, a situation which made the sustainability of a stable society in the new west a precarious proposition. The arrival of families in the region certainly demonstrated the permanent designs the settlers had for the country, but the pressure placed upon these groups by acute resource poverty and renewed Indian raids served to undermine the viability of this goal. Almost from the very beginning of continuous settlement in the region, Native American resistance continued to challenge and exasperate every facet of the operation and as early as the spring of that year a number of early pioneers were heading back across the mountains.[105] Treaties may have been signed and declarations of peace issued, but hostilities between the settlers and Indians resumed almost as soon as winter passed.

When William Calk and his companions made the journey west in March, they had already undergone no insignificant amount of hardships before news of Indian raids finally reached their ears. On one particularly arduous leg of the journey the group had been forced to travel over a 'terrible mountain that tired [them] all almost half to death,' an experience which, along with bouts of snow and other bad weather, was repeated numerous times on the journey. In spite, or perhaps because, of the hardships the party had already endured the mere mention of Indian hostilities was enough to send many would-be pioneers back over the mountains, facing those same hardships again and incurring significant losses as a result of their failed journey. These consequences notwithstanding, 'a great many people' belonging to Calk's party did just that when word was received from Daniel Boone on the 7th of April informing them that hostile Indians were at large throughout the country. As the party pressed on they continued to encounter men fleeing Kentucky who informed them of the latest news regarding Indian raids, a practice which acted to thin the party further. One retreating group told 'such news' that Abraham Hanks and Philip Drake, two of Calk's original companions, were too 'afraid to go any further' and instead cut their losses and returned east. For those who remained, signs of strife with the Indians continued to grow more common and when a group of settlers were sent from Boonesborough to guide the party on the last leg of their journey they were careful to point out the location where the 'Indians [had] fired on Boone's company and killed 2 men...and wounded one man in the thigh.'[106] By the time Calk

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[104] Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 91. See also William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the Life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC79-80

[105] Robert B. McAfee 'The Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family and Connections written by Himself. Commenced April 23rd, 1845' Robert B. McAfee Papers 62W6, University of Kentucky Archive, p. 35

[106] 'Journal of William Calk, 1775' Calk Family Collection 2005M14, Box 7, Folder 96, Kentucky Historical Society

and his diminished party arrived at their destination they had been haemorrhaging members for weeks, a situation which ensured that the remaining party members had already felt the effects of Indian warfare without having been involved in or even witnessing the events themselves. In this respect, at least, the situation was remarkably similar to that which plagued the frontier twelve months earlier.

Over the course of this first year in Kentucky, the number of physical confrontations which occurred between the Indians and settlers remained relatively limited owing partly to the small settler population, the divided nature of numerous tribes following the end of Dunmore's War, and a genuine reluctance on the part of many Indians to reignite a widespread and destructive conflict on their proverbial doorstep.[107] Such reluctance was hardly universal, however, with the atrocities and land violations of the preceding years having served to radicalise a core group who ensured that their impact was felt south of the Ohio River.[108] Throughout 1775 and the first part of 1776, individual settlers and small groups were attacked and harassed in the wilderness but no pitched battles or large scale raids were conducted. In spite of this, the level of violence – in real terms – which these Indians were able to leverage remained high from the settlers' perspective with each death or physical violation plainly visible to the entirety of the community. Although only a small number of settlers were killed in 1775, these deaths were felt keenly by the diminutive population and hence, throughout this year, reverse migration away from the west became increasingly common.[109] In overall terms the fighting which occurred during this period was less intense than the open hostilities of the preceding year, but for those in the Kentucky country the relative level of violence remained high.

For some, the continuing clash with the Indians was a manageable affair; the number of raids remained low, even though the tiny settler population increased their impact upon the overall community. More importantly, the renewed raids had not yet culminated in a direct assault upon any of the new settlements, a situation which reflected the reluctance of many Indians to escalate the conflict further. As such, a number of the settlers' defensive

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[107] For reluctance of many Indians to restart war see 'Dr. Thomas Walker and Andrew Lewis 's Minutes of a Treaty at Pittsburgh, 1775,' in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (eds.) *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), pp. 42-43 and 'The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, May 4th – September 3rd, 1775' in Foster (ed.) *The Ohio Frontier*, pp. 41-48. For divisions among and within the tribes see 'The Journal of Richard Butler, August 30th – September 5th, 1775' in Foster (ed.) *The Ohio Frontier*, pp. 48-51

[108] 'Letter from John Cook to Captain Andrew Hamilton, October 2nd, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 3ZZ7 and 'Circular Letter from Thomas Walker, John Harvie, John Montgomery, Jasper Yeates, August 31st, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 1U34

[109] 'Journal of William Calk, 1775' Calk Family Collection 2005M14, Box 7, Folder 96, Kentucky Historical Society

fortifications remained incomplete throughout 1775 and 1776.[110] For many other settlers, however, the small number of raids meant little compared to the increased probability that whatever assaults did occur were more likely to involve them directly. The settlements themselves may have been relatively secure, but the wilderness which most had come to claim, divide and sell was an area of heightened threat. Open hostilities may not have resumed in 1775, but the presence of even a small number of hostile Indians provided more than enough motivation to drive many settlers back across the mountains carrying with them rumours, stories and firsthand experiences of continued violence in the west.[111] Having abstained from launching any large scale assaults, the destructive power of the Indians rested largely in the settler imagination which vacillated wildly between cautious apathy and acute fear.[112]

In spite of being an altogether elusive component of war fear was one of the key driving forces behind the developing frontier conflict. In 1773 and early 1774 it had been fear of open warfare with the Indians that had helped to initiate those very same hostilities and in 1775 and 1776 similar fears abounded throughout the Kentucky country.[113] When Abraham Hanks and Philip Drake abandoned their attempt upon Kentucky days before entering the region, they did so because they feared the Indians far more than they valued the opportunity to survey western lands or to settle in the region. Even for William Calk and those who stayed the course, a decision to finish the journey did not demonstrate an absence of fear. Rather, these settlers instead believed that the potential benefits of completing their journey outweighed the risks.[114] In this respect, fear served to suppress the growing conflict as potential combatants fled the disputed area before they had an opportunity to become victims of raids. For those who stayed, however, trapped by the lure of land and economic prosperity, fear was instead transformed into communal outrage and a desire to attain retribution. When the ongoing conflict did cause fatalities, every death served to strip the struggling community of valuable human capital and, potentially, an invaluable skill set.[115] Such losses thus served to

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[110] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 55-63

[111] 'Letter from John Floyd to Colonel William Preston, May 1st, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 33S291

[112] For the importance of rumour and story in Kentucky, as opposed to physical confrontations, see 'Letter from John Floyd to William Preston, May 1st, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 33S291

[113] For examples of fear leading to the abandonment of the backcountry and a corresponding increase in military action on the part of the colonial authorities and some settlers see 'Letter from James Robertson to Colonel William Preston, July 26th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ67

[114] 'Journal of William Calk, 1775' Calk Family Collection 2005M14, Box 7, Folder 96, Kentucky Historical Society and Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 72-73

[115] For example, it appears that the only person capable of manufacturing gun powder in early Kentucky was a slave named Monk who may or may not have passed on that skill to Daniel Boone. As such, the death of this slave (and his apprentice) would have severely limited the settlers' ability to mount an effective defence or even to hunt for food, just as the death of any skilled person would have stripped

increase the hardships being suffered by the larger group. Moreover, these victims were not faceless abstracts but friends, family members and old travelling companions. Such close relationships served only to accentuate the seriousness of the growing conflict in the settlers' collective mindset (see Chapter Five).

By the summer of 1776 the undercurrent of aggression which defined Kentucky's first year of settlement was beginning to be transformed in a manner that mirrored the symbolic shift which had occurred following the attack upon the Boone party in 1773. Like the period immediately preceding Dunmore's War, the first year of settlement saw hostilities between settlers and Indians largely confined to groups of men.[116] Women and children were certainly present in the country throughout this period but their confinement to townships – coupled with their small numbers – ensured that Kentucky's early casualty list was predominately filled with adult males.[117] By the summer of 1776, however, a series of attacks were initiated that signalled something of a sea change in the on-going conflict. On the same day that a series of near-simultaneous surprise raids were launched against most of the Kentucky settlements, two of Colonel Richard Calloway's daughters along with one of Daniel Boone's were kidnapped by the Shawnee, an act which appeared to signify a declaration of unrestricted warfare; regardless of their age or gender all settlers in Kentucky were now at risk.[118] Indeed, the kidnapping of these three girls came to be one of the most powerful symbols around which early Kentuckians rallied against the Indians. Although numerous settlements were attacked and Andrew McConnell's twin sons were also taken into captivity around the same time, the focus of that summer would thereafter be remembered and symbolized by the Calloway and Boone girls.[119] Regardless of the disproportionate importance this particular episode took in the settler imagination, it was only one event in a series of clashes which occurred across the frontier that year, pointing towards a renewal of open hostilities. When two settlers were

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the community of a key skill set that could not be replaced until a suitably trained individual migrated to region. See Belue *The Hunters of Kentucky*, pp. 165-166

[116] For a list of casualties as remembered by Boone during this period see Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 59-60. See also Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boon,' pp. 45-49

[117] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Shankin' Draper Manuscripts 11CC220

[118] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boon,' pp. 47-51

[119] The importance of the Calloway and Boone girls is reflected in their presence in retrospective sources compared to the absence of the Russell boys. Lyman Draper would specifically ask Daniel Boone's son about this incident, whilst other settlers would deliver their accounts of the girls' kidnapping to men like John Shane without being prompted decades later. For examples of this see Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 47-50, John D. Shane 'Interview with Richard French' Draper Manuscripts 12CC203, John D. Shane 'Mem: Colonel James Workman' Draper Manuscripts 12CC115 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC77. The kidnapping of the girls would also go on to influence pop-culture throughout the nineteenth century, inspiring paintings and, most famous of all, a key scene in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. Faragher *Daniel Boone*, pp. 330-332

killed at Big Bone Lick, their contemporaries were quick to move for revenge and at least two of the Indians involved in this incident were killed and scalped as a result.[120] All across the Ohio River basin vulnerable frontier areas began to feel the pressure of renewed hostilities and the political élite soon found themselves attempting to defuse another war before it gained too much momentum to be easily managed.[121]

In theory, this task should have been aided by a convergence in the goals shared by political and aboriginal leaders over the issue of open hostilities, with both sets of leadership largely keen to avoid renewed warfare in the backcountry. For chiefs such as Cornstalk and White Eyes, peace, not war, was the goal. Similarly, Revolutionary authorities and even the British were keen to avoid the possibility of an open Indian war on the frontier.[122] However, continuing raids south of the Ohio River coupled with the ascent of war chiefs who sought to resist continued settlement with physical confrontations all but ensured further radicalisation of the settlers and, ultimately, an escalation in the conflict. The outbreak of the American Revolution and later attempts by the British to turn the Indians upon western settlers served to throw fuel onto the fire, but one should be careful not to overstate the role played by the British.[123] The Indians acted with Britain not because they were imperial puppets or because the British had somehow convinced or bribed them to go to war; they acted with the British because their goals happened to converge making the two groups ideal allies. The Indians of this period did not fight for the failing political system of a foreign power, but instead engaged in hostilities to satisfy their own individual and collective agendas. As winter set in and hostilities took their customary seasonal break the forces competing for control of the Ohio Valley took stock of their respective positions and, like many of their Indian adversaries, many settlers began to develop ideas separate from their leadership regarding the role conflict was to play in their collective futures.[124] With peaceful interactions between settlers and Indians in

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[120] 'Letter dated August 20th, 1776 Transcribed by Lyman C. Draper from the Pennsylvania Packet, August 27th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 16J27

[121] 'Letter from Colonel Dorsey Pentecost to Captain William Harrod, November 12th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 4NN34

[122] 'Letter from Captain Matthew Arbuckle to Colonel William Fleming, August 15th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 2ZZ78 and 'Letter from Governor Patrick Henry to County Lieutenant of Ohio, March 27th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS49

[123] For British attempts to turn the northern Indians upon the frontier see 'Letter from Patrick Lockhart to Chairman of the Botetourt Committee, May 14th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 1U16 and 'Journal of Colonel Richard Butler, August 30th,' in Foster (ed.) *The Ohio Frontier*, p. 48. For the persuasive power of the Americans, see 'Letter from Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton to General Guy Carleton, November 30th, 1775' Draper Manuscripts 45J101

[124] By the end of summer, William Preston found that he could not raise backcountry militias for the Revolutionary War owing to local fears that the Shawnee and Delaware 'will surely break out.' Far from being combat shy – at least according to Preston – these settlers instead were looking to the growing frontier war rather than the struggle for independence being pursued by the political authorities. See

regions such as Kentucky already extremely rare, it was not a significant step for the settlers to begin contemplating retributive attacks of their own.[125] Similarly, the escalating conflict in the region moved many more Indians to side with those who sought to remove the invading forces from their territory. The Indians and the settlers may have continued fighting one another in a comparatively limited fashion following the end of Dunmore's War, but by the summer of 1776 the conflict had begun escalating noticeably.[126] As 1777 dawned, so too did a period of renewed, open warfare.

Closure

When analysing the outbreak of Dunmore's War in the early 1780s, Thomas Jefferson went to some considerable effort in order to demonstrate that this conflict was brought about by the murder of Logan's family at Yellow Creek.[127] In so doing, Jefferson recognised that serious conflagrations in the backcountry could be brought about not necessarily by the masters of the political world, but the agency of those on the ground. Jefferson's analysis, however, was a one sided affair. Although he demonstrated sympathy for the losses which drove Logan to fight, he made no specific effort to understand the comparable forces which drove settlers to commit atrocities such as the Yellow Creek massacre. This approach has been repeated often by historians who have been content to label such settlers as Indian haters.[128] Problematically, modern historians rarely – if ever – describe Indians who committed comparable acts in similarly loaded terms. Logan may have been the victim of a wartime atrocity, but he likewise committed many of his own. Of course, it is absolutely not being argued here that historians should begin applying loaded, unbalanced labels to Indians as well as settlers. Rather, it is

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'Letter from Colonel William Preston to the President of the Committee of Safety, August 2nd, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ64

[125] 'Letter from Colonel Dorsey Pentecost to Captain William Harrod, November 12th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 4NN34, see also 'Petition from Inhabitants of Grave Creek to Captain William Harrod' Draper Manuscripts 4NN44

[126] 'Circular Letter from Thomas Walker, John Harvie, John Montgomery, Jasper Yeates, August 31st, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 1U34

[127] 'Speech Attributed to Logan' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, pp. 68-69. For Cresap, the publication of Thomas Jefferson's *Note on the State of Virginia* proved to be the ultimate undoing of his legacy – Logan, who Jefferson quotes, was absolutely convinced that it was Cresap who committed the Yellow Creek massacre, not Daniel Greathouse. In later editions of Jefferson's *Notes*, the appendix is expanded to include a significant number of letters, depositions, and testimonies clearing Cresap of this misconception. Logan's speech, easily the most widely circulated source generated by Dunmore's War, thanks to Jefferson's original volume, endured unchanged. See Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, pp. 241-243

[128] Rob Harper 'Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhutten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 64 (2007): 621-644, p. 621, Wolfgang Mieder '"The Only Good Indian is a Dead Indian" History and Meaning of a Proverbial Stereotype' *The Journal of American* Folklore, Vol. 106 (1993): 38-60, Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, p. 67, and Griffin *American Leviathan*, p. 255

necessary to understand, not celebrate, and analyse, not condemn the violence which was committed by both sides of this conflict. The actions of men such as Cresap, Greathouse, and their followers are easily labelled as murderous – indeed, many contemporaries agreed with such an assessment – but to do so is little better than labelling Indians as 'savages,' a practice which modern historians have long since outgrown.[129]

As chapters four and five of this thesis will demonstrate, the use of the word 'hate' cannot possibly encapsulate the spectrum of concurrent and often contradictory emotions which drove one group to attack another. More problematic still, such a description implies much whilst proving little; if settlers were Indian haters, the absence of settler-haters among the Indians – at least within the context of modern historiography – surely suggests that these two groups were driven to fight by fundamentally different forces, at least from a ground-up perspective. This was not, however, the case. An acute fear of future hostilities, past experiences with violence, and familial losses affected all the peoples of the backcountry – regardless of which side of the frontier they dwelled upon – to commit further acts of aggression. Neither Indians nor settlers were immune to this and neither group should be unduly judged because of it or labelled in such a way as to imply that one side was more prone to committing atrocities – acts designated as demonstrating 'hate' – than the other. The wider conflict which grew out of Dunmore's War and the sheer breadth of participation in that struggle is too complicated and too nuanced to be deserving of such over-simplification. Indeed, anti-Indian radicals would be a far more accurate way to describe those same settlers who might otherwise be described as Indian haters, just as a significant number of Indians could equally be described as anti-settler radicals.[130]

The war for the frontier was a bitter, visceral and potent experience which stayed with many of its combatants, regardless of their cultural heritage or mode of living, for the rest of their lives.[131] Both settlers and Indians were impacted by the experiences, processes, and systems which developed around frontier violence with no one group experiencing radicalisation alone. Put simply, the war for the frontier had the potential to radicalise individuals on both sides simultaneously, a process which laid the groundwork not only for continued violence, but even an escalation of the conflict in the future. In the early years of the frontier war, small numbers of combatants operated in a context of highly personal

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[129] For criticisms of settler atrocities during Dunmore's War see *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), July 14th, 1774, p. 2

[130] For a detailed discussion on this issue see chapters four and five of this thesis

[131] 'Letter from Judge John Banister to Edward D. Ingraham, November 26th, 1846' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 269. See also Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 42 and John D. Shane 'Interview with William Niblick' Draper Manuscripts 11CC84-85

vendettas, attempting to avenge deaths or violations deemed particularly atrocious. The cause of these vendettas may have been personal, but their execution was anything but – rather than targeting only those directly responsible, settlers and Indians both attacked comparative innocents in order to satiate their desire for revenge. In so doing, however, these small groups spread their vendettas across the frontier, inspiring retributive attacks from their now outraged enemies which, in turn, demanded further violence. In a relatively short period of time, a limited confrontation between very small numbers was thus able to spiral out of control, drawing in larger and larger numbers on both sides. The issue of who controlled the trans-Appalachian west was undoubtedly the grand framing device within which Dunmore's War erupted. Likewise, the machinations of Dunmore himself and the growing Revolutionary sentiment of the settlers helped to mould this conflict.[132] However, the clashes between settlers and Indians which occurred throughout the early 1770s were far more than window dressing for the war. Disputes over landownership certainly set the stage, but it was the actions and reactions of those on the ground which provided the fuel for this confrontation. It is simply not possible to understand the processes which drove warfare in the backcountry from 1774 without understanding the forces which drove the settlers and Indians. Neither is it enough to understand these ground-up forces in the context of Dunmore's War alone. Confrontations such as the battle of Point Pleasant multiplied the reach of the war across its thousands of participants, a collective of individuals who would form the core groups who would face off in Kentucky and other western regions in the coming years. Even where individuals had had little or no direct contact with Dunmore's War, other circumstances often served to bond those who settled west of the Appalachians from 1775 to those who fought in 1774.[133]

To be sure, tensions over who had the right operate within the trans-Appalachian region would continue to exert significant influence across the west but as more individuals were exposed to greater levels of violence over an increasing period of time, the bottom-up forces encapsulated by a few vendettas in 1774 took on a juggernaut-like quality. It would be a number of years before these ground-up forces reached something approaching a critical mass that would allow the frontier war to move down a path independent from the American Revolution, but the necessary groundwork was laid between 1774 and 1776. Dunmore's War

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[132] Holton *Force Founders*, pp. 33-35, Hinderaker and Mancall *At the Edge of Empire*, pp. 157-160 and Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 99

[133] Daniel Boone, for instance, was petitioned by settlers to take some form of military leadership role to prepare his home county in North Carolina region for an Indian attack. Boone was also dispatched by Dunmore to warn the surveyors in Kentucky that open hostilities between Britain the Shawnee had broken out. See 'Letter from Daniel Smith to Arthur Campbell, October 13th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ19 and 'Letter from Arthur Campbell to Daniel Smith, October 3rd, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 6C10-13, 'Letter from Colonel William Christian to William Preston, July 12th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ63

played the part of both spark and microcosm, but the process which drove it and the subsequent battle for the Ohio Valley was layered and deeply intricate and has, thus far, only been touched upon. As such chapter two of this thesis will begin the process of answering the following fundamental question; why did violence radicalise the settlers? Of course the need for revenge has been somewhat addressed within this chapter, but it is important to understand that revenge is not as simple as a desire to kill one's enemies because one's compatriots have suffered a similar fate. The type of death, post – and sometimes pre – mortem mutilations, torture, scalping, and the impact upon the deceased's surviving family all helped to sharpen, extenuate and multiply the desire among affected individuals to extract potentially disproportionate levels of retribution from their enemies. So too did the combat experiences of the individual affect the relative ferocity with which both sides pursued their retributive goals. Near death experiences, the sight of mutilated bodies, dead companions, eviscerated children, the ashes of those burned alive, and even the damage sustained to one's own self were powerful forces which will be explored in some detail throughout chapter two and, to some extent, throughout the remainder of this thesis.

Chapter Two

Living with War

For Jemima Boone, her brief captivity among the Indians with Betsy and Fanny Calloway in the summer of 1776 was as contradictory and confusing as it was distressing. On the one hand, the girls were prisoners of war, victims of a kidnap attempt which had left their families reeling. Forced to undertake an arduous journey through the wilderness, torn skirts, forced marches, and the ever present threat of the tomahawk were all the order of the day.[1] On the other hand, each of the girls appears to have been treated well; kindness was shown and a form of companionship between captors and captives appears to have developed. Indeed, one Indian in particular, a Cherokee named Hanging Maw, appears to have taken a shine to young Jemima, constantly paying the young lady compliments on her long hair. The three girls may have been prisoners, but it appears that they were treated as humanely as the circumstances allowed.[2] Of course, such relative kindness did not alter the girls' position and, throughout their captivity, they worked ceaselessly to hinder the efforts of their captors. But even as they attempted to slow the Indians' retreat, the girls began to recognise a common humanity in those who had taken them.[3] It may appear to be a small point, but such recognition – such empathy – was becoming increasingly rare on the frontier, particularly within those regions most affected by the continuing hostilities with the Indians. Victims of a violent encounter, the girls may have been, but their capture provided them with an opportunity that was actively being denied to most of Kentucky's new inhabitants; the opportunity to spend a period of time in the company of one's enemies without a barrier of continued violence separating them further. In this respect, the girls' experience was relatively distinct from that of the larger community.

By the summer of 1776, an ever increasing level of violent contact between the settlers and Indians was serving to drive these two peoples further apart, but aside from a growing number of physical clashes, the type of fighting being carried out, particularly by the

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[1] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone' pp. 49-50

[2] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Delinda Boone Craig' Draper Manuscripts 30C48-49

[3] There is little room for doubt in the historic record; Jemima and the Calloway girls were ecstatic to be rescued. However, when Jemima told tales of her capture she demonstrated a strong degree of continued empathy for her captors, emphasising the good treatment girls received. Although a kidnap victim, Jemima did not develop a reflexive anti-Indian attitude as a result. See Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Delinda Boone Craig' Draper Manuscripts 30C48-49. For a discussion on the subject of Jemima's post-restoration sympathy for the Indians see Faragher *Daniel Boone*, pp. 138-140

Indians, was serving to create a mental chasm between these peoples.[4] Fear, paranoia, and exposure to wartime atrocities were all being deliberately fostered by the Indians, a campaign of psychological warfare designed to chase the settlers back across the mountains. In many instances, this campaign was a success, something to which waves of retreating settlers attested.[5] Indeed, by fostering an acute sense of fear in regions such as Kentucky, it could be argued that the Indians' campaign was a relatively humane one; they may have flooded the backcountry with adrenaline but in so doing they avoided the need to flood it with blood. From the settlers' perspective, however, such a situation rarely presented its softer side. Whilst the use of psychological warfare was certainly an established wartime practice, its use upon a civilian population – even a militarised one – created deep and long lasting lines in the proverbial sand.[6] By deliberately terrorising the settlers in the wilderness, targeting their children, and mutilating their dead, the Indians helped to erode any sense of empathy or shared humanity held for them by the settler community. True, this nuanced approach to warfare proved to be remarkably successful, but that success was never absolute. The settlers never entirely abandoned their new western territories and, as such, the Indians never fully attained their desired goal. Instead, the practice of psychological warfare, the focus of this chapter, ultimately served to embitter, condition, and subvert those who remained, creating a social groundwork upon which the Indians' future vilification would be constructed. By targeting the settlers' minds, the Indians came within a hair's breadth of emptying the Kentucky country in 1777. However, the employment of such tactics ultimately served to instil a sense of permanent communal anger among the settlers, underlining existing grievances, emphasising perceived cultural differences, and fundamentally alienating the peoples of the frontier.

The relationship between the individual, the group, and conflict is a complex interaction that cannot and should not be explained in simple terms. Physical violence is often augmented by the idea of war and the potential dangers that accompany it but even acts which were deemed justified or righteous by their executors could produce complex and seemingly contradictory feelings. For the Boone and Calloway girls, their eventual rescue was undoubtedly a happy and joyous affair but there are some hints that their rescue was undermined by the growing relationship between captors and captives. Even during the heat of the rescue, a time when captives were often executed by their Indian captors, the girls were

[4] For escalating hostilities see 'Letter from Matthew Arbuckle to Captain John Stuart, November 2nd, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 1U40 and 'Letter from Matthew Arbuckle to Colonel William Fleming, August 15th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 2ZZ78

[5] 'Journal of William Calk, 1775' Calk Family Collection 2005M14, Box 7, Folder 96, Kentucky Historical Society

[6] For psychological warfare during the Seven Years War, see Ward *Breaking the Backcountry*, p. 44

left alone and unharmed.[7] Happy to be alive and restored to their families, the joy of the rescue was writ large across the girls' subsequent actions, with hastily arranged marriages following in quick succession; carpe diem, indeed. But for all the elation on display – apparently 'there was not a dry eye in the [rescue] company' – memories of kind treatment at Indian hands continued to linger.[8] If Jemima experienced any guilt over the fate of her kindly captors then she was not experiencing anything that William Bradford did not feel in 1637 when English colonists, along with their Narragansett allies, set fire to one of the largest Pequot villages in New England. Like most of his contemporaries, Bradford viewed this action as a necessary act of war, but that did not make the sight of his enemies 'thus frying in the fire' any less 'fearful [a] sight,' nor the sounds, sights and smells which accompanied this incident any more bearable. The outcome may have been 'sweet' but the means through which it was achieved were, according to Bradford, 'horrible.'[9] Similarly, Jemima and the other captive girls would have to reconcile their treatment – 'the Indians were really kind to us' – with memories of their captors falling into campfires and bullets exploding from their chests.[10] Combat on the frontier was no simple interaction between peoples and those who experienced it directly were often exposed to its problematic nature, particularly where a common humanity was recognised, no matter how briefly, in one's enemy.

Problematically, there was a significant degree of separation, often brought about by acts of deliberate psychological warfare, which meant for many the common humanity of one's enemy was rarely recognised or evident. Jemima, Fanny and Betsy were all exposed to an enemy who displayed both ruthless determination and significant levels of kindness, but to those who joined the rescue attempt such fair treatment was hidden and even once exposed it provided only cold comfort.[11] To the rescuers and larger community alike, the kidnapping of the three young girls was the dominant act, not their treatment. True, Jemima would her captors in subsequent years but among the settlers no act of kindness could make up for attempting to spirit their children across the frontier.[12] Warfare may have produced a series of intercultural contact points, but to the larger community a single act of aggression very

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[7] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone' pp. 49-50, John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC74, Boone and Filson 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 60-61

[8] 'Letter from Elizabeth L. Cushow to Lyman C. Draper, March 31st, 1885' Draper Manuscripts 21C28-29

[9] Thomas Bradford *Of Plymouth Plantation* Reprinted as *The History of the Plymouth Plantation in Two Volumes: Volume II* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), pp. 249-250

[10] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Delinda Boone Craig, 1866' Draper Manuscripts 30C48-49 and Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone' pp. 49-50

[11] Richard Calloway, father of Betsy and Fanny, for instance was paranoid that the Indians would sexually assault his two daughters. See Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 139, particularly Robert Wickliffe's quote.

[12] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Delinda Boone Craig, 1866' Draper Manuscripts 30C48-49

often overshadowed multiple acts of compassion. Jemima and the Calloway girls may have recognised a common ground of human experience amongst their captors but the settler community, for the most part, could not. The girls may have been treated well but Hanging Maws' gloating over Jemima's father was not forgotten: 'We have done pretty well for old Boone this time.'[13]

Similarly, Native Americans – both as individuals and communities – were prone to reacting in a like manner. There is a certain argument to be made that Daniel Greathouse and his men showed a degree of mercy when they did not butcher the infant Mingo they captured at Yellow Creek.[14] This action, however, appears to have meant little to Logan; it certainly did not mediate the vendetta he subsequently embarked upon.[15] Although the sources simply do not speak of the Indian perspective surrounding the capture of the Boone and Calloway girls it is important to bear in mind that those killed by the settlers did not die in a vacuum. At least some members of their tribe must have looked for a return that simply did not happen. Whether these deaths particularly affected any of their family is a matter that is lost to history, but to the community as a whole the vacant wigwam and empty hunter's rack likely spoke volumes. Like the settlers they were aligning against, the basic kindnesses and courtesies the captives and captors showed one another likely meant little compared to the subsequent violation of the community. Hanging Maw may have conceived a day when he and a girl with hair like Jemima's could develop a relationship, but, as a whole, the settlers and Indians were being pushed further apart even as their cultural experiences converged around episodes of violence.[16]

This ever widening gap was partly the natural result of a conflict which saw both sides enact deliberate and ancillary psychological warfare upon each other. Where the experiences of the Calloway and Boone girls diverge from the experiences of many others was in the consciously compassionate treatment they received. For Jemima it was possible to recognise her captors as both people and as abstract aggressors, but for many others the use of

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[13] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone' p. 49

[14] 'Reminiscences of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24

[15] If anything, the fact that the child survived may have exasperated the matter as Logan was clearly affected by the long term impact Yellow Creek had had upon his family. See 'Letter from Logan to Michael Cresap, July 21st, 1774. Recorded by Harry Innes, copied into a letter from Innes to Thomas Jefferson, March 2nd, 1799' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 246, Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24, and John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain Marcus Richardson' Draper Manuscripts 12CC127

[16] Stephen Aron makes a similar although not identical assertion, instead focusing upon how both settler and Indian hunting cultures converged. Essentially, Aron argues that shared experiences between hunters bridged the intercultural gap where as this thesis is arguing that the real cultural parallel developed between much larger groups through shared experiences in war. These ideas, however, are not mutually exclusive. Aron *How the West was Lost*, p. 28

psychological warfare became a divisive issue that significantly compounded perceived cultural differences. Attacks and actions designed to create chaos, confusion, and to affect the collective morale of the settlers helped to deepen this divide; when Samuel Henderson heard the panicked shouts of his fellow Kentuckians the morning the Boone and Calloway girls were kidnapped, he was so overcome with fear that he burst into tears.[17] This situation was magnified by other actions which, though not strictly designed to affect the settlers' mental wellbeing, nonetheless had some effect upon communal morale. Scalping is a good example of this; although the taking of scalps served its own cultural purpose – and was carried out extensively by the settlers also – the sight of scalped bodies, sometimes still living, was interpreted by many as a horrific or atrocious act.[18] Certainly, the cultural importance of scalping means that it cannot strictly be considered a wartime atrocity but many settlers nevertheless interpreted it as such; atrocities were identified by those who counted themselves as victims.[19] It seems unlikely that most Indians carried out scalping as a method of deliberate psychological sabotage, but they did recognise that many types of violent acts – such as kidnapping one's children or the mutilation of a relation – could fulfil such criteria.[20]

The kidnapping of the Boone and Calloway girls illustrates the importance of this psychological aspect of warfare.[21] Hanging Maw had predicted that the emotional fallout of

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[17] Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 133

[18] For cultural heritage of scalping among the Indians see James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant 'The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 37 (1980): 451-472, p. 457

[19] John D. Shane 'Interview with James Wade' Draper Manuscripts 12CC16-17, John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain Marcus Richardson' Draper Manuscripts 12CC127 and John Knight 'The Narrative of Doctor Knight' in Hugh Henry Brackenrige (ed.) *Indian Atrocities: Narratives of the Perils and Sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover, Among the Indians, During the Revolutionary War, with Short Memoirs of Colonel Crawford and John Slover* (Cincinnati: U. P. James, 1867)

[20] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone' p. 49

[21] As a concept psychological warfare tends to be defined fairly loosely but its fundamental meaning hinges upon the idea that a person or group's attitude, and hence behaviour, can be influenced or modified to suit the agenda of an opposing force. This concept is hardly unique in history, but it is rarely named for what it is. Morale, for instance, is commonly used to describe group attitudes and it has been accepted for decades by historians, if not longer, that morale can be manipulated by one's enemy. When psychological warfare is described in this thesis it is not a set technique that it is being described but rather the ability of one side to successfully alter the attitudes of the other in order to meet their military goals. In some cases this was a deliberate ploy with the Indians, in particular, skilled at manipulating fears and apprehensions among the settler population. Indeed, as this chapter will show, this very manipulation helped lead to the emptying of Kentucky in 1777. In some instances, however, the psychological warfare which occurred was not the result of specifically designed military techniques, but the fallout of more regular types of fighting. The phrase psychological warfare and the discussion surrounding it are fairly new developments but the use of techniques which purposefully or accidentally manipulated enemy attitudes and behaviour is not. The concept may be new, but the practice is likely as old as warfare. Robert H. Keyserlingk *Austria in World War II: An Anglo-American Dilema* (Quebec: McGill Queen's University Press, 1998), pp. 128-132, Leonard W. Doob 'The Strategies of Psychological Warfare' *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 13 (1949), pp. 635-644, Hugh M. Hamill, Jr. 'Early Psychological Warfare in the Hidalgo Revolt' *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 41 (1961):

his raid would land upon Boone's head and panic, indeed, appears to have been the order of the day with Boone not even stopping to put on moccasins before hastily setting out to rescue the girls.[22] Similarly, Richard Calloway, the father of two of the girls, was driven almost to distraction by the thought of what might have occurred to his children whilst they were with the Indians. What actually happened was of relatively little importance because it was the idea that drove Richard Calloway to so desperately seek the rescue of his girls, just as the idea of what *could* happen at Indians hands would help to drive the community as a whole during the war.[23] On balance, the kidnapping of the Boone and Calloway girls was a minor intercultural encounter but it was given significant weight in the settler and popular imagination that, when combined with perceptions of other raids and losses, helped to create something of an ideological juggernaut. Although this incident was hardly a turning point, it did help to bring past acts of aggression into sharp focus. This was partly a deliberate ploy by the Indians, a method by which they could drain the settlers' morale and their desire for the region; the girls were, after all, known to every inhabitant of Boonesborough and between one third and one half of the town's men took part in the attempt to rescue them. It was also, however, something of an incidental after effect caused by more traditional types of warfare. On the one hand the Indians who initiated the raid understood that it would have an immeasurable effect upon the families of those kidnapped whilst, on the other, the kind treatment shown to the girls demonstrated an attempt to show restraint in warfare.[24] Regardless of intentions, the kidnapping of these girls was a sign which the entire community could read, a statement of intent that spoke of future violence that would cross gender and age lines. The kidnapping of the Boone and Calloway girls may have been a minor incident, but to the diminutive population of a frontier town, such as Boonesborough, it was anything but.

By the end of 1776 psychological warfare was already somewhat of a feature in the Kentucky country but as 1777 dawned it became far more common place, both as a deliberate tactic and as a natural repercussion of the fighting. With the Indians of the Ohio Valley seriously divided over how to deal with the region's growing settler population the use of tactics that did not require large numbers of warriors whilst simultaneously maximising the impact of those who did initiate raids became a core practice that grew in step with Native American support for war.[25] By employing these tactics the Indians were able to greatly increase the effectiveness of their raids by affecting large swathes of the settler community in

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206-235, and Antonius C. G. M. Robben 'Combat Motivations, Fear and Terror in Twentieth-Century Argentinian Warfare' *The Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 41 (2006): 357-377

[22] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 49

[23] See Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 139, particularly the Robert Wickliffe quote

[24] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 49

[25] Silver *Our Savage Neighbours*, pp. 41-43

addition to their immediate victims. The result was the development of a siege mentality among the settlers which helped to dictate and guide how this group perceived the world around them. By employing only a comparatively small number of warriors, the Indians were able to besiege the Ohio Valley not necessarily with bullets, but with ideas. Both the individual and the community as a whole were subject to a siege that was likely far worse in their collective imagination than it was in reality, but the division of the real and the imagined on the frontier was never particularly surefooted in the first place. To quote one historian reflecting upon confederate guerrilla raids in Missouri almost a century later, it was the 'immense scale of possibilities, not the miniscule size of probabilities, that dominated the thinking of' the settlers.[26] Indian groups prosecuted the war in a variety of manners, with psychological warfare only one tool in their available arsenal. It was, however, one of their most effective techniques and the idea that the frontier was essentially besieged throughout the late 1770s was fostered expertly by this group. Unfortunately for the Indians, the result was not an abandonment of the west but an increase in resolve and enmity.

As winter set in at the end of 1776 the fighting which had bothered the frontier over the previous months began its seasonal hiatus, a period of wound licking and reflection forced upon both groups by the rigours of cold weather and the lack of cover offered by the territory's now leafless trees. Indian raiding parties broke up and returned to their homes whilst the settlers now fortified themselves against the elements.[27] Physical confrontations during the winter months of early 1777 were largely absent but memories of the preceding year's confrontations remained fresh among the community, relived time and again in a vibrant and dynamic oral culture. Those killed were conspicuous by their absence, whilst survivors of attacks freely shared their experience and perspective, punctuating their tales with showcases of the wounds which they or their companions had received. Victims, survivors, and the larger community struggled collectively to make sense of the events in which they had become entangled and over the course of the winter months the small, concentrated population of the frontier began the process of forging a communal canon in which all members of the community could share. The immediate danger may have been over, but the creation of an ongoing communal narrative ensured that the settlers remained

[26] T.J Stiles *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (1993; reprint, London: Random House, 2002), pp. 44-45
[27] Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 8-9

acutely aware of the threat they faced. Hannibal was no longer at the gates, but to many it appeared that he continued to peer through the window.[28]

1777 has often been described by historians as one of the most violent years in Kentucky's frontier history.[29] The actual level of violence the country endured, however, fell well below that which would plague the region from 1778 onwards.[30] In almost every respect the settler population suffered far less from physical attacks during this year than it would throughout the subsequent twelve months. This discrepancy between historical perception and reality thus begs an important question. If 1777 was not the landmark year of conflict that some historians and contemporaries have portrayed, why is it described as such? The simplest and most direct answer to this question is that what many historians have identified was not a year of particularly prominent violence, but a year that was perceived by many settlers to have been more violent than it actually was.[31] This, in its own right, is an important observation because it demonstrates how pervasive the idea of conflict can be. It is not that 1777 was in any way peaceful, but rather that the use of psychological warfare helped to sharpen any sense of danger to a razor edge.[32] This was a social phenomenon that brought the settler community to the point of crisis even where the actual level of danger failed to necessarily justify this. Relatively isolated incidents were no longer perceived as attacks upon individuals but instead came to be seen as assaults upon the community. In such a context, actual mortality and casualty rates meant little compared to the perceived assault suffered by the community as a whole, the 'secret mischief' of non-direct combat.[33] Rather than being

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[28] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 61, John D. Shane 'Interview with James Wade' Draper Manuscripts 12CC19, John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Shanklin' Draper Manuscripts 11CC218-220 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC76-77

[29] Rice *Frontier Kentucky*, pp. 88-89, Belue *The Hunters of Kentucky*, p. 119 and Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, p. 64

[30] Refreshingly, Patrick Griffin argues that the level of physical violence in this year was not excessive. Rather, Griffin argues that it was rumour and the idea of possible violence that ran rampant during this time. See Griffin *American Leviathan*, p. 139

[31] For examples of officials attaching significant weight to a relatively small number of incidents see 'Letter from Colonel David Shepherd to Governor Patrick Henry, March 24th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS47 and 'Letter from Colonel Zackwell Morgan to Captain William Harrod, April 2nd 1777' Draper Manuscripts 4NN56. For public notices detailing the potential threat posed by the Indians see *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), April 18th, 1777, p. 6

[32] In a letter written by William Crawford several murders are listed, but even these only suggest 'a general irruption was threatened [sic],' not already in motion. Although Crawford is able to furnish his letter with a list of murdered settlers, the number he lists is not excessive. Tellingly, Crawford chooses to dwell upon many of the details surrounding some of these deaths: '[T]hey killed and scalped one man, the body of whom was much mangled with tomahawks and other instruments of brutality.' Later in this same document, Crawford dwells upon the property destroyed by the Indians, 'burned houses, killed cattle, hogs &c.' Rather than the number of dead speaking for themselves, it was the manner in which they were killed, or their property destroyed, that serves to underline the growing sense of panic Crawford wished to convey. 'Letter from William Crawford to President of Congress, April 22nd, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 14S21

[33] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 62

victimized by any major confrontations with the Indians, this year saw the settlers come to view an array of comparatively minor assaults as an interconnected web of dangers; dangers that threatened to overturn their burgeoning community. Studying 1777 in isolation is no easy task and actually pinning down specific incidents to which mass panic can attributed is nearly impossible.[34] Unlike 1778, there would be no high profile or significant assaults upon the settlements, but the Indians were, nevertheless, able to generate enough general panic to cause a voluntary population collapse. Rather than face dangers which were partly real and partly imagined, a significant proportion of the settler community chose simply to flee the region instead.[35]

In truth, Indian-inspired reverse migration had been a feature of the Kentucky country since its initial settlement, first with the abandonment of Harrodsburgh in 1774, followed by a steady stream of traffic out of the country since its resettlement in 1775.[36] Of course migration into Kentucky was significant also with the lure of land bringing in more than enough settlers to compensate for the numbers exiting the country. A chronic lack of applicable source material dealing with this subject makes estimating the country's population at the beginning of 1777 a difficult and necessarily inaccurate affair but it would be reasonable to suggest that by the end of 1776 Kentucky may have been home to around five hundred settlers.[37] Early in 1777, however, the flow of movement away from the region had increased significantly and for the first time since Dunmore's War, Kentucky was in real danger of emptying as the population shrank to around two or three hundred persons, a reduction which saw numerous townships and farms completely abandoned.[38] With ever dwindling numbers,

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[34] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 60-70

[35] ibid

[36] 'Journal of William Calk, 1775' Calk Family Collection 2005M14, Box 7, Folder 96, Kentucky Historical Society

[37] In his history of the region John Wesley Monette estimated that around five thousand persons resided south of the Ohio (not just Kentucky). This estimate, however, is not based upon any direct evidence. Similarly, John Mack Faragher states that the population of Kentucky was no greater than two hundred persons in the spring of 1776 but fails to offer any supporting evidence for this claim. Indeed, there appears to be no evidence to suggest that migration out of Kentucky was greater than migration into Kentucky during this year. When the available evidence is studied in concert it seems likely that the population of Kentucky grew steadily in its first two years of settlement. Sadly the extent of that growth cannot be surely known but an estimate of 500 persons, based upon the apparent growth of the settlements and reports of their contraction the following year, appears to be a reasonable figure. See Greene and Harrington *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790*, p. 192, Filson, Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 59-61, Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 45-46, and Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 130

[38] According to Boone, fifteen men resided in Logan's Fort, sixty five in Harrodsburgh and twenty two in Boonesborough. The total number of men in these forts was around one hundred and two. Boone does not allude to the number of women and children in these towns but the gender imbalance of the early settlements suggests that the total population was likely less than three hundred persons. This is confirmed in a letter from John Bowman which states that the total number of women and children in Kentucky by the end of the year was around two hundred. See Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of

losses sustained in combat became more apparent to those who remained, even as the actual number of casualties remained low. In this manner, a relatively unremarkable series of Indian raids came to be interpreted by the community as evidence of an Indian surge against the frontier. Over the spring and summer months two attacks were launched upon the town of Boonesborough, however contemporary assertions that these assaults amounted to sieges reflects not the intensity of the violence which accompanied them, but the power of psychological warfare.[39] Rather than making any attempt to systematically isolate the town, the Indians had instead employed extensive guerrilla tactics, taking up intermittent and obscured positions in the surrounding woodlands, a process which disguised both their numbers and the true level of danger they represented. Hardly sieges, these incidents could be described more accurately as periods of enhanced harassment with both assaults, between them, producing only two settler fatalities.[40] Regardless, the presence of a large number of Indians in the vicinity of a major settlement – even if many of them were imaginary – was likely a sobering thought for many aspiring settlers and it is unsurprising that events such as this inspired something of an exodus from the frontier. Daniel Boone, in a narrative recorded by John Filson, would later describe a period of general chaos brought about by a slew of relatively minor Indian assaults but, tellingly, he did so without ever giving the specific or detailed accounts he was more than capable of delivering. For Boone and Filson, this year was a period when 'the innocent husbandman,' an abstract figure, was the Indians' chief victim.[41] Violence was certainly present throughout the year, but the numbers killed or even attacked during this period does not reflect the growing panic which was starting to cripple the Kentucky settlements.

In the specific case of Boonesborough, the two attacks which took place in 1777 demonstrated this growing disconnect between real and imagined conflict. Although Boone and Filson would later describe these events in comparatively grandiose terms, the settlers residing in the town did not deem it necessary to complete work upon their defensive stockade. To confuse matters further, Boone would claim that these two attacks utilized a combined force of around three hundred Indians.[42] It would be reasonable to expect, therefore, that necessity – if not prudence – would have demanded that the settlers complete

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Daniel Boon,' pp. 61-62. For demographic imbalance see John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Shankin' Draper Manuscripts 11CC218-220. For number of women and children see 'Letter from Colonel John Bowman to General Edward Hand, December 12th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN192-196

[39] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 51

[40] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 61-62

[41] ibid, pp. 60-61

[42] Ibid

their town's defences had they undergone assaults of the magnitude later described.[43] To compound matters, when Boone's son, Nathan, was asked about these same attacks he did not describe them in anything resembling the sweeping terms that Filson had committed to print, but instead described what little fighting there was as 'skirmishing.'[44] It appears, then, that the attack upon the town in April was really nothing of the sort. Instead two men – out with the town's limits – were ambushed, resulting in one death and the panicked rescue of his companion. Thereafter the Indians remained in the surrounding wilderness for a period of no more than two days, harassing the settlement but showing little real evidence to support Boone's later claims surrounding their number. The second attack in July followed a similar pattern. Other than the two men who were killed in these so called sieges, one of the most serious outcomes for the Boone family appears to have been the broken ankle that Daniel received whilst attempting to rescue a pair of settlers caught outside the town.[45] In physical terms, the fighting appears to have been relatively limited but, importantly, what combat there was 'was extremely distressing to the new settlers' who left the country in droves throughout the first half of the year. The Indians may not have left the level of mass destruction in their wake which was later hinted at by Boone and Filson, but they did succeed in leaving significant levels of mass disruption instead.[46]

It thus seems unlikely that accounts detailing widespread attacks in 1777 should be taken at face value. Rather than a direct assault or traditional siege it seems far more likely that these attacks were handled by much smaller groups of Indians than the setters realised or later reported.[47] It is also quite likely that the Indians did not set up positions within easy view of the settlement precisely because they wished to generate a false impression of their numbers. By employing guerrilla tactics, taking cover in the wilderness, and only showing themselves at inconsistent intervals the Indians were thus able to give the settlers' a false impression of the scope of the force which had been aligned against them. In physical terms the impact upon the settlers was limited; with only two persons killed and a handful more injured these exercises could hardly be described as unqualified victories. They did, however, produce a crisis of confidence among the settlers who reacted to what appeared to be an overwhelming force in the surrounding woodlands. This situation was repeated all across the

[43] For the importance of stockades as a defensive measure, see John D. Shane 'Interview with Isaac Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC1
[44] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 51
[45] ibid
[46] Boone and Filson 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 60
[47] It is perhaps unsurprising that when Peter Houston wrote a narrative of his friend, Daniel Boone, for historian Lyman Draper in early nineteenth century he skipped the years 1776 and 1777 entirely, moving instead seamlessly from Boone's initial settlement of the country in 1775 to the later events of 1778. Houston 'A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone,' pp. 13-14

frontier as the Indians practiced their 'secret mischief' throughout the year, deliberately harassing settlers whilst helping them to construct the idea that danger lay behind almost every tree or beneath every crest.[48] William Haymond, a settler in western Virginia in the 1790s, summed up the attitude many early settlers held when travelling through the wilderness: 'If you will consider yourself behind a tree and hearing an Indian howl, and expect to see one or more every minute, you may judge of my feelings...I will only say that it was the most trying time of my life.'[49]

It is problematic to suggest that 1777 was a particularly violent year on the Kentucky frontier, at least in traditional terms, but it is reasonable to analyse this period as one not dominated by the gun or tomahawk but the threat or the thought of them. When word reached the settlements in March that a soldier named Elijah Matthews had been burned alive by the Shawnee, panic quickly spread. Matthews, a largely anonymous figure, became an unlikely cause célèbre and like many others who suffered, or were perceived to have suffered at Indian hands, he became symbolic of the escalating danger blossoming west of the Appalachians. His death may not have been witnessed by anyone in Kentucky or western Virginia, but knowledge of his demise was enough to spark endemic panic in both regions.[50] No individual settlement in Kentucky suffered through a true siege in 1777, but the Indians' expert use of guerrilla tactics combined with a growing folk narrative concerning frontier casualties helped to ensure that the country was effectively subjected to what is best described as a meta-siege. This siege was not one enforced by mass violence, but rather a series of indistinct incidents which merged together in the settlers' collective imagination to become a series of mass strikes which targeted the larger community. Danger was not behind every tree, but many settlers were very quickly coming to fear that this was indeed the case.

By appearing and disappearing, seemingly into nothingness and at will, the Indians were able to foster the impression among the settlers that they were never truly safe, particularly beyond the limits of the country's few towns and fortifications; the entire wilderness was thus claimed as the Indians' domain. In real terms this meant that the settlers only perceived safe zones within the limits of their fortifications but even then, such zones were hardly sacrosanct or impervious to attack.[51] Settlements thus became isolated islands

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[48] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 61-62

[49] 'Letter from William Haymond to Luther Haymond, April 13th, 1842' in Henry Haymond *History of Harrison County, West Virginia: From Early Days of Northwestern Virginia to the Present* (Morgantown: Acme Publishing Company, 1910), p. 365

[50] 'Letter from Col. David Shepherd to Governor Patrick Henry, March 24th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS47

[51] This situation was not dissimilar to those faced by New Englanders the preceding century. See Patrick M. Malone *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians*

adrift in a sea of potential harm, an image readily fostered by the Indians occupying the surrounding woodlands. This tactic proved remarkably successful, helping to spread further panic whilst undermining the community's confidence that it would be able to successfully settle the region. Patrick Henry would write at that time of the 'most distressing and deplorable condition of the surviving inhabitants' in the region, but in actuality the survivors were not those who had yet to be killed, but those who had not yet fled.[52] Perhaps what is most remarkable about the assault taking place throughout 1777 was that the Indians succeeded in driving large numbers away from the frontier without resorting to large scale assaults or mass killings. Such comparative restraint likely came about because, at this point, most of the tribes remained deeply divided over how continuing settler encroachments south of the Ohio River should be dealt with and, as such, the number of warriors willing to engage in hostilities remained limited.[53] A large portion of the Cherokee and Shawnee were starting to engage in open warfare but the arrival of just one hundred and forty five armed settlers late in the summer appears to have provided sufficient reinforcements to balance the engagement.[54] Reports of Indian raids, and their associated casualties, were not uncommon throughout the late summer, but even relatively limited increases in the defensive capability of the settlers served to transform the effectiveness of the Indians.[55] In all likelihood the settlers had blown the number of their enemies actually in the country far out of proportion, a direct result of Indian wartime practices. When Patrick Henry considered how best to deal with the escalating frontier war, he reflected that 'Savages must be managed by working on their Fears.'[56] Few of the Indians currently besieging the frontier would likely have disagreed with such a sentiment.

When Indians were suspected of entering a given region word quickly spread among the local population and, whether justified or not, the settlers had little choice but to assume that danger was imminent. John Hanks, who grew up in the region around Wheeling, remembers 'Old Ben Decker' visiting the family farmstead one day to warn his mother that a

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(Landham: Madisonbooks, 1991) and Armstrong Starkey *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998)

[52] 'Letter from Governor Patrick Henry to General Edward Hand, July 27th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 18J26

[53] 'Letter from Matthew Arbuckle to Colonel William Fleming, July 26th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U68, 'Letter from General Edward Hand to the Delaware, September 17th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U96, and 'Letter from David Zeisberger to General Edward Hand, September 22nd, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U99

[54] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 62

[55] For Indian raids throughout 1777 see 'Letter from Captain John Van Bibber to Colonel William Fleming, September 11th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3ZZ10, 'Letter from Colonel John Gibson to General Edward Hand, July 31st, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U70, and 'Letter from Captain Zackwell Morgan to General Edward Hand, September 18th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U98

[56] 'Letter from Governor Patrick Henry to General Edward Hand, July 27th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 18J26

large body of Indians were heading towards the settlements, a situation that distressed the family not least because Hanks' father was then absent. Fear and precaution resulted in a hasty move to a neighbour's property but even this act was ultimately unnecessary as Decker had 'made it [sound] a great deal worse than it was.' Indeed, neither the Hanks family nor any other settlers in this region were in any real danger and it appears that the great majority of the Indians Decker reported resided only in his imagination.[57] Regardless, even these figments were enough to panic the family into forting with other, similarly worried settlers. Although such moves often proved ultimately unnecessary, the recollections of Rachel Johnson underline why being over cautious was better than being underprepared. When an acquaintance of Johnson's, Daniel McLane, was ambushed near Wheeling, Johnson remembered hearing 'the tomahawks as if the Indians were cutting up beef.'[58] The Hanks family may not have been privy to the sounds of such butchery, but they would likely have been aware of what combat and, in particular, defeat at Indian hands might entail.

Similarly, the settlers fleeing Kentucky in 1777 shared an oral culture that gave them at least some understanding of the potential dangers a frontier war would present to them, if not an expectation that they would have to face such a scenario firsthand. Dunmore's War was a fresh scar upon settler-Indian relations, whilst more distant confrontations, such as the Seven Years War, likewise provided a potent folk memory in which Indian relations could be framed.[59] This raises an important question; if settlers entered Kentucky with some basic knowledge of what potentially awaited them, what actually made those same individuals turn their backs not only upon the frontier but upon the potential rewards they could gain by staying? By the time Logan's Fort, Harrodsburg and Boonesborough were raided in 1777 the population had already reached its nadir.[60] This strongly suggests that it was an acute fear of violence rather than actual contact with aggressive Indians that was the principal cause of the settler exodus which so marred the region. Crucially, it also suggests that fear of violence was much stronger in regions where the Indians made their presence felt. In the east oral traditions presented the Indians as an abstract danger. In the west, however, the activities of the Indians turned that danger from an abstract concept into something far more tangible. Put simply, 1776 and 1777 saw the Indians leverage psychological warfare in such a way as to critically undermine the settlers' confidence and, in the ever-developing world view of many

[57] John D. Shane 'Interview of John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 12CC138
[58] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Rachel Johnson' Draper Manuscripts 2S280-81
[59] 'Journal of Nicholas Cresswell' in Ellen Eslinger (ed.) *Running Mad for Kentucky: Frontier Travel Accounts* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), pp. 76-77 and Silver *Our Savage Neighbours*, p. 244
[60] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 61-62

settlers, Indians came to exist in regions where, in reality, they simply did not.[61] In this way, the Indians succeeded in fundamentally undermining any assumption of security. Although levels of violence were yet to take a significant upward lunge, many settlers in 1777 perceived themselves as living in a world that was dominated by violence and Indians.[62] The emptying of the Kentucky country thus occurred as a response to a developing culture of fear, a process which ensured that, for many, the threat of hostilities became more tangible than the actual situation they faced on a daily basis; bodies imagined became as vivid as those witnessed firsthand. [63]

As the fighting escalated through the spring of 1777 memories of past incidents, such as the kidnapping of the Boone and Calloway girls, became knitted ever more closely to the community's world view. Although Jemima would speak of kind treatment, the larger group would base their interpretation of this episode not upon her word, but upon their own experiences and perceptions.[64] If the Indians' use of indirect combat to drive settlers away from the frontier can be deemed a success then it must also be accepted that this victory was double edged indeed. Although the Kentucky country saw its settler population collapse, those who remained, and many of those who later migrated to the region, did so with a new understanding of the world around them. They understood not only that a war with the Indians was actively unfolding, but that they stood upon its frontline.[65] This does not mean that all who inhabited the frontier were hardened stereotypes.[66] On the contrary, the frontier

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[61] For power of purely fictive Indians created by circumstance, see John D. Shane 'Interview with John Crawford' Draper Manuscripts 12CC162. For examples of settlers describing greater numbers of Indians than were present in the past, see Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 61-62 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Gough' Draper Manuscripts 11CC97-98. For a discussion of the power of fictive Indians see Faragher *Daniel Boone*, pp. 130-131

[62] 'Letter from Benjamin Sharp to Lyman C. Draper, April 10th, 1845' Draper Manuscripts 7C23

[63] For interpretations of Kentucky's future potential prior to the outbreak of significant levels of (perceived) violence see 'Letter from Reverend John Brown to Colonel William Preston, May 5th, 1775' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ15: 'What a Buzzel is amongst the people about Kentuck? to hear people speak of it one Would think it was a new found Paradise [sic].' For the importance of past violence in framing later experience see Rufus Putnam 'Memoirs of the Putnam Family' Marietta College Collection, 1776-1847, MIC 48, Reel One, Ohio Historical Society, or the John D. Shane interviews in volumes 11CC, 12CC, 13CC, 14CC, 15CC, 16CC and 17CC of the Draper manuscripts (see also the dénouement for detailed analysis and interpretation of this issue). For the importance of a peaceful future see 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Colonel William Fleming, August 12th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U80

[64] Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 139

[65] 'Letter from Colonel William Preston to the President of the Committee of Safety, August 2nd, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ64

[66] For an example of the type of settler who might meet a more stereotypical image see *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), October 18th, 1776, p. 1: 'a stout Indian engaged a countryman of mine who was a good bruiser, and expert at gouging...they laid hold; upon which the Cracker quickly had his thumbs in his fellows, who roared out *Canally Niacuah*; in English, friend, enough. "Damn you (says my countryman)" you never can have enough "while you are alive;" then he threw him down, set his foot on his neck, and scalped him alive, then took up one of the broken guns and knocked his brains out. I wish he had let the

population remained as diverse as it ever had but those who now inhabited the region had to at least accept the distinct possibility that violence would affect their lives. Accepting this possibility, however, did not serve to dissipate the power of terror, or of psychological warfare. For some, like Tom Berry, the mere threat of Indians in the region would continue to create tangible levels of fear that other contemporaries would later remark upon. Berry may have been visibly shaken at the thought of an Indian attack, but his wife and children were positively horrified by the prospect and, upon hearing rumours of an Indian raiding party in the local neighbourhood, they reportedly 'began to cry as if the Indians were [already] at the door.'[67]

The Indians who raided and besieged Kentucky certainly scored a demographic victory in the first half of 1777, but – problematically – those settlers who did not leave very often resolved to stay regardless of the potential dangers they might have to face. People like Tom Berry and his family were not the Indians' main adversary. Rather, it was those who chose to remain – in spite of the apparent dangers they faced – who posed the greatest threat. In a very real sense, such individuals demonstrated that there were limits to the tactics currently being employed by the Indians; leveraging fear could only go so far towards emptying the west. Even these individuals, however, were not impervious to the after effects of such a campaign and, having been exposed to the frontier war, many of those settlers who were not driven east were instead driven to fight.[68] A dead body remembers no horrors; a living one not only remembers but often chooses to share those memories with the wider community. Hugh McGary's stepson felt no more pain after his death at Indian hands but McGary, like numerous others over the course of the coming years, would be driven by his past contact with the war to expand his role within it, sharing memories of past atrocities with the community as he did so.[69] By remaining in Kentucky, in spite of the obvious dangers that had already shattered his family, McGary greatly increased the likelihood that violence would continue to play a major role in his life. Even if he had not proactively sought out situations that would allow him to kill Indians, the decision to remain was a crucial one that would have tied him to the developing war. When faced with the threat of further hostilities, most frontier settlers were faced with just two choices. Retreat, removing one's self and family from danger, or stay and attempt to defend their position. The former choice, although popular throughout 1777, was hardly the obvious choice as a premature return east could lead to a potentially devastating financial loss. Additionally, the journey would have, once again, proven an arduous chore, something which

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latter part alone, and sent him off without his nightcap, to tell his countrymen how he had been treated.'

[67] John D. Shane 'Interview with Nathaniel Hart' Draper Manuscripts 17CC209-213

[68] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC64-65

[69] John D. Shane 'Interview with Jacob Stevens' Draper Manuscripts 12CC135

few settlers would have taken lightly.[70] The only real alternative, however, was to remain on the frontier, but in so doing the settlers risked continued harassment.

Accordingly, the decision to stay implied a decision to resist Indian assaults, and this led many to begin thinking in offensive terms. At the very least it implied a willingness to defend one's self; when a party of settlers were ambushed whilst out 'shelling corn' that September, the individuals who composed that group were left with little option but to understand – if they did not already – that one could not opt out of an Indian attack. Surrounded and set upon, this group had no choice but to experience incredibly close-quarter combat with all of its associated sensory highlights. Squire Boone, for instance, found himself locked in hand-to-hand combat with an Indian who had already succeeded in battering his skull with a tomahawk. Injured, but not mortally so, Squire had retaliated by withdrawing his rapier and 'plung[ing] his sword into the front of [the Indian's] abdomen.'[71] As was often the case, death was not instant and Squire's would-be assailant continued to battle, even as the frontiersman grabbed the Indian's belt in order to slide his blade deeper into the man's gut. Still, this did not end the struggle and Squire was forced to scramble for his knife, but the quantity of blood pouring from his own wound, not to mention the blood of a companion felled next to him, meant that unsheathing the blade became a ponderously difficult task. Falling together, the end of Squire's rapier finally snapped off in the Indian's body and after crawling a short distance, his opponent at last expired from his grievous wounds.[72]

Although the origins of this incident lay beyond any given settler, the attack took the specific form that it did because each of its victims chose to remain in Kentucky, in spite of the Indians' campaign to empty the country. For Squire, at least, his continued presence in the region, even after such a vivid, close quarter and bloody struggle demonstrates a willingness – or resignation, perhaps – to engage in similar bouts in the future if the circumstances demanded it. Garrison, the companion whose blood had coated Boone's knife and clothing, would no longer have to face that very same choice. Squire, however, did and he made sure that other settlers knew of the struggle he had endured. His broken sword was soon mended and hanging once again by his side, a potent reminder to all who knew its history that the war with the Indians could involve any one of them at almost any time. Put simply, none who remained in Kentucky after the summer of 1777 were ignorant of what that decision might potentially demand of them; the Indians' psychological war had become self-sustaining.[73]

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[70] 'Journal of James Nourse, 1775' in Ellen Eslinger (ed.) *Running Mad for Kentucky: Frontier Travel Accounts* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), pp. 95-96
[71] John D. Shane 'Interview with Daniel Bryan' Draper Manuscripts 22C14-18
[72] Ibid
[73] ibid

Accordingly, settlers all across the frontier began actively looking for ways in which they could regain control of their lives from the raids – real and imagined – they had suffered through; the arrival of a Shawnee peace delegate at Point Pleasant that winter provided them with that very opportunity.[74] Cornstalk may have made the trip to Point Pleasant in an attempt to shore up the failing relations between his tribe and the United States but by the end of the year his dead body would stand as a monument to the settlers' growing reaction against the Indians' psychological war. By the end of 1777 the war had certainly taken a toll, but the coming twelve months would see it explode – physically – across the west.[75]

Even before Cornstalk had arrived at Point Pleasant, American officials demonstrated how successful the Indians' guerrilla war had become when Captain Matthew Arbuckle arrested two of the chief's emissaries.[76] These arrests came near the end of a year that had seen the settler population terrorised almost out of existence in some areas, whilst reports from across the wider frontier informed settlers and American authorities alike that a general

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[74] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), April 3rd, 1778, p. 1

[75] John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112. Until the end of 1777, the Shawnee had been deeply divided over the issue of Euro-American settlement south of the Ohio River and, as a direct result, competing factions had arisen within the tribe who sought mutually exclusive solutions to this pressing problem. On the one hand, a faction led by chiefs such as Blackfish and Pluggy came to agitate for open hostilities whilst on the other, Cornstalk came to represent those who instead sought accommodation with the new settler population. These two factions did not restrict their competition to the confines of the tribes' political world but instead carried their campaigns for peace and war to the settlers themselves. Pluggy, in particular, was responsible for a significant number of raids against Kentucky and western Virginia in 1776 and 1777, whilst those following Cornstalk continued to engage with American authorities in the hope of preserving some semblance of peace. As time passed, however, the state of Cornstalk's campaign declined rapidly as greater numbers of his tribe began to see the settlers as illegal invaders who would only respond to force. By the end of 1777 Cornstalk's support had apparently evaporated and the elderly chief, one of those who had previously led his tribe against the settlers in Dunmore's War, found himself in a relatively isolated position. Even as his support collapsed and the tribe moved closer towards war, however, Cornstalk continued to push for peace between his people and the settlers of the frontier. This task was made much more difficult not only because of the internal movement away from accommodation within the Shawnee, but through the ever more hostile attitude and stance taken by American authorities towards them. See 'Letter from Governor Patrick Henry to General Edward Hand, July 3rd, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 15ZZ7, 'Letter from Captain Matthew Arbuckle to Colonel William Fleming, August 15th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 2ZZ78, Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 54-60 and John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112, Robert B. McAfee 'The Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family and Connections written by Himself. Commenced April 23rd, 1845' Robert B. McAfee Papers 62W6, University of Kentucky Archive, p. 19 and 'Letter from Captain John Cook to Captain Andrew Hamilton, October 2nd, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 3ZZ7, 'Letter from Captain Matthew Arbuckle to General Edward Hand, October 6th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN74-78, 'Letter from Captain Matthew Arbuckle to General Edward Hand, November 7th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN78-79. For the growing military relationship between the British and the Indians in 1777 see 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Colonel William Fleming, August 12th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U80, 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Jasper Yeates, July 12th, 1777' in Reuben Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (eds.) *Defence on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), pp. 19-20 and John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112

[76] 'Letter from Captain Matthew Arbuckle to General Edward Hand, October 6th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN74-78

state of dissidence had developed among the tribes of the Ohio valley.[77] Arbuckle's developing belief that 'the Shawanese are all our enemy' may have been grossly inaccurate, an unfortunate side effect of the Indians' surreptitious campaign, but it also made his decision to arrest the peace delegates an easy one.[78] Through the late summer and autumn, stories of atrocities and an Indian dominated wilderness combined with a relatively small number of actual raids, had continued to fuel tensions until they reached a crisis point around the time Cornstalk and his party arrived at Point Pleasant.[79] The elderly chief may have visited the settlers in the hope of securing some semblance of peace but he instead found a town typical of many frontier settlements at that time; the inhabitants of Point Pleasant seemed more interested in retribution than in limiting the conflict. Tensions had been bubbling under the surface at Point Pleasant for some time and even Cornstalk appears to have recognised that his death at settler hands was a very real possibility. The day before his murder he sat in council with the officers of Fort Randolph, one of whom described his countenance as 'dejected,' and talked, apparently at some length, about the possibility of his own murder. According to Captain John Stuart, Cornstalk 'seemed impressed with an awful presentment of his approaching fate,' and spoke on several occasions about his willingness to die if that was indeed to be the outcome of his visit. According to Stuart, Cornstalk informed his listeners that 'you may kill me if you please, I can die but once and it[']s all one to me [whether] now or another time.'[80] Cornstalk appears to have gauged the tone of the region's settlers well as it took only a single death to ignite the tinderbox into which he had wandered.

Shortly after Cornstalk's arrest, a man named Robert Glimore was killed on the northern (Indian) bank of the Ohio River. By the time the militia returned to Point Pleasant, Glimore's scalped body in tow, events had already begun to escalate as word spread through the town of an attack upon the party. Apparently without hesitation, Gilmore's colleagues headed straight for the captive Shawnee. Much to the horror of Captain Arbuckle, the party disregarded his orders to disperse and, when the issue was pressed, he and a subordinate were threatened at gun point.[81] By the time the party had reached the prisoners, rumour

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[77] *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), April 18th, 1777, p. 6

[78] 'Letter from Captain Matthew Arbuckle to General Edward Hand, October 6th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN74-78 and 'Letter from Captain Matthew Arbuckle to General Edward Hand, November 7th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN78-79

[79] 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Governor Patrick Henry, December 9th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN69-71 and 'Letter from Colonel William Preston to Colonel William Fleming, December 2nd, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 2ZZ43

[80] John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112

[81] 'Captain Arbuckle and myself met them endeavouring to dissuade them form so unjustifiable an action but they cocked their guns [and] threatened us with instant death if we did not desist and rushed into the fort,' John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112. See also 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Richard Peters, December 24th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN89-

gripped the larger part of the town's population; those responsible for Gilmore's death had come with Elinipsico, Cornstalk's son, who now sat corralled with his father, another man named Red Hawk, and a fourth – unnamed – Indian. According to one report, Cornstalk offered to find Gilmore's killer, going so far as to insist that the remaining hostages, including his son, stay in custody whilst he attempted to find those responsible. Whether or not this actually occurred is unknown, but if Cornstalk attempted to negotiate the capture of Gilmore's murderer his words went unheeded as the mob swiftly set about the task of killing the Indians; Cornstalk was shot by no less than half a dozen guns simultaneously.[82] As the elderly chief drew his last breath, so too did the Shawnee peace initiative.

For a number of reasons Cornstalk's murder was an important turning point in the development of the frontier war. Although Cornstalk was clearly not the Indian who had killed Gilmore, rumours linking the two nevertheless came into being.[83] Put simply, the settlers were demonstrating an ability to link otherwise innocent Indians to unrelated wartime atrocities. There appears to have been nothing about Gilmore's character to suggest that this response was a reaction to his specific passing; this response had less to do with the victim than it did the assumed perpetrators.[84] Moreover, the settlers' reaction was excessive. In exchange for Gilmore's life, they murdered four Indians and, to compound matters, each of those lost lives belonged to Indians who had a strong desire to maintain peace. Like most of the trans-Appalachian region, western Virginia had been subjected to a significant campaign of terror. By the start of winter, the tensions, suspicions, and paranoia of many settlers had been fed to the point where some kind of reaction was increasingly likely. Put simply, the settlers who killed Cornstalk's party were not just reacting to a single murder but a much wider context informed by extensive psychological warfare. Prior to Gilmore's death a number of other settlers had been attacked on the southern edge of the Ohio, actual casualties that fed the overall perception that the frontier was coming under a sustained and violent Indian assault.[85] As in Kentucky, those now being killed in western Virginia reflected incendiary cases such as the death of Elijah Matthews whose burned and scorched remains had captivated and

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94 and 'Deposition of John Anderson, William Ward and Richard Thomas, recorded by George Skilron and verified by Samuel Smyth Surgeon, November 10th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN80

[82] 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Governor Patrick Henry, December 9th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN69-71, John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112, and John D. Shane 'Interview with John Craig' Draper Manuscripts 12CC144-146,

[83] ibid. See also 'Ballad Verse, given to Lyman C. Draper by James Ward' Draper Manuscripts 9BB54: 'King Cornstalk, the Shawnees boast/Old Yie, by whom much blood we've lost/The Red Hawk and Elinipsico/Lie Dead beside the Ohio'

[84] John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112 and John D. Shane 'Interview with John Craig' Draper Manuscripts 12CC145

[85] 'Letter from Archibald Steel to General Edward Hand, October 21st, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U125 and 'Letter from Major James Chew to General Edward Hand, October 21st, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U122

horrified the community's collective imagination only a few months earlier.[86] For the larger group, a perception of high casualty rates across the backcountry appears to have made the attack upon Cornstalk's party not merely a justified enterprise, but a necessary one.

Cornstalk's murder represents the ultimate catastrophe that was inherently attached to the successes gained by the Indians throughout 1777. The murder of Cornstalk and his party was not the culmination of a single death, but of a world view which the Indians had helped cultivate in order to drain the frontier of settlers. Although their methods had proven partially successful, they had created in those who remained – and were determined to stay – a resolve to push back against those whom they identified as their aggressors. By the summer of 1777 it was still difficult to identify individual tribes who were actively engaged in open hostilities; instead parts of one tribal group combined with the disillusioned members of others to form an ad hoc force that could be identified only with some doubt by its victims. The result of this multi-tribal sub-alliance was the refinement of the Indian (as an abstract, tribe-less body) into the principle enemy of the frontier settler.[87] By the end of the year, the presence in Point Pleasant of Indian chiefs belonging to a tribe with known hostile elements proved to be enough to cause a radical breakdown of order. This breakdown may have been catalysed by the death of Robert Gilmore but it had been primed by the shared ordeal the community had endured over the preceding twelve months. The actual number of deaths had been relatively few but the perceived assault had been great indeed; the murder of Cornstalk did not occur in a vacuum but was instead the result of attitudes which the Indians' themselves had inadvertently fostered through their own wartime practices. It is important to understand that the settlers and Indians were locked together in a system in which the actions of each group fundamentally affected the future actions and reactions of the other. Like the settlers, the Indians did not analyse en masse the root cause of Cornstalk's incendiary murder, nor did they look to understand how the more guileful aspects of their raids may have laid the groundwork that ultimately led to his death. Instead, the fall of this peace broker became a call to arms, evidence in Indian eyes not of their own complicity but of the settlers' inhumanity.[88]

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[86] 'Letter from Colonel David Shepherd to Governor Patrick Henry, March 24th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS47

[87] 'Maryland Journal, May 20th, 1777, transcribed by Lyman C. Draper' in Thwaites and Kellogg (eds.) *Defence on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 253-254, 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Jasper Yeates, July 12th, 1777' in Thwaites and Kellogg (eds.) *Defence on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 19-20, and 'Letter from Colonel John Gibson to General Edward Hand, December 10th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U132

[88] John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN112. See also Griffin *American Leviathan*, pp. 152-153

The settlers, likewise, ignored their role as an invading force whilst Gilmore's presence on Indian lands north of the Ohio appears to have ruffled no conceptual feathers amongst his contemporaries. The settlers, like their adversaries, saw themselves exclusively as victims in this scenario and, at least for a time, accepted Cornstalk's murder as a reasonable act of retaliation even if their superiors never did.[89] When the Shawnee almost immediately began retaliatory strikes against the frontier in response to this loss, the settlers saw only further evidence that the Indians were their natural enemy, not evidence that they had helped bring this situation about through their own actions.[90] Neither group appears to have been capable of recognising that both sides of the frontier had become ensnared in a system which justified their own acts even as it condemned those of their opponents. This situation was not entirely dissimilar to one which many backcountry inhabitants had already lived through in 1774 when Logan's relatives were murdered, but in 1777 the ongoing War of Independence gave the Indians of the Ohio Valley an important ally from whom they could draw both supplies and support.[91] The role of the British is often emphasised when the frontier war in the late eighteenth century is analysed but it is important that their role is understood within an

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[89] 'Letter from Edward Hand to Governor Patrick Henry, December 9th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN69-71 and *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), April 3rd, 1778, p. 1

[90] Cornstalk's murder was not just a culmination of the growing tensions which were now starting to dominate settler society. It was also something of a starting point in that this murder decisively shifted opinion within the Shawnee tribe away from those ideals which Cornstalk had come to represent, towards those fostered by his adversaries. For most members of the tribe, the murder of their single most adamant peace broker was an event which underlined the impossibility of reaching a peaceful accommodation with the new settler population. Almost immediately, attacks were made against the frontier and, by Christmas Eve, General Edward Hand was forced to acknowledge that a state of open, unrestrained warfare had erupted across the backcountry as a result of Cornstalk's murder. What Hand did not recognise was that the settlers had, through their own agency, enabled their own circular belief in the frontier war to become a self fulfilling prophecy. Throughout the year, the settlers of the backcountry believed that they were under constant threat and as such they began interpreting relatively isolated incidents as acts of aggression against the community. Even where bodies and direct experience were not present to justify this belief, knowledge of other incidents negated this limitation. When the Shawnee began attacking the frontier to avenge Cornstalk's death, the settlers appeared to have confirmed their own worst fears; the Indians were on the war path. See Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 40-41, 'Letter from Gen. Edward Hand to Col. George Morgan, December 24th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN89, 'Letter from Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming, December 2nd, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 2ZZ43, and 'Letter from Colonel John Gibson to General Edward Hand, July 31st, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U70

[91] In the case of Dunmore's War, numerous settlers did identify the murder of Logan's family as the cause of the subsequent war, just as some – such as John Stuart – recognised that Cornstalk's murder would spark a period of escalated hostilities. However, a significant number – at both times – either ignored this reality or saw it as immaterial in the face of a renewed war for the frontier. Even those who understood the impact such murders had upon the frontier did not suggest that such actions demonstrated a basis for the settlers to withdraw from the west. See 'Deposition of John Gibson, recorded by Jeremiah Barker, April 14th, 1800' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 247, and John Stuart 'Narrative of Captain John Stuart' Draper Manuscripts 6NN105-112. For British role as suppliers of arms to the Indians see 'Official Report on Council held at Detroit, June 17th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 49J13

appropriate framework.[92] The Indians who fought against the settlers did so not because they were allies of the British crown but because they had their own particular set of motivations.[93] With support from the British, particularly with regards to supplies, the Shawnee and their allies were able to quickly and confidently organise a number of retaliatory strikes against the frontier. Unlike 1774, however, the Shawnee were not at war with their only viable trading partner and, as such, they could execute a war without undue concern for supplies of ammunition, particularly as, from 1777 onwards, the British increasingly hoped to utilize the Indians to a greater degree in their war against the Patriots.[94] All across the southern side of the Ohio River numerous Indian raiding parties appeared to avenge the murder of a chief who had stood in his later life for peace and accommodation.[95]

Perhaps nothing underlines the collective anger shared by the Shawnee more than their appearance south of the Ohio in the heart in winter.[96] Ignoring the seasonal hiatus such months usually impressed upon both parties, Blackfish, one of Cornstalk's primary adversaries within the tribe, had gathered a force of more than one hundred warriors in order to invade the Kentucky country in early 1778.[97] Blackfish's substantial band had little interest in harassing the area immediately south of the river but instead made the much more difficult journey to central Kentucky, no inconsequential expedition in the winter months. Part of the allure of this area was the presence of Kentucky's isolated frontier population who were concentrated around just three fortified settlements.[98] Of these centralised targets the town of Harrodsburgh was the best manned and hence, best defended station in the country whilst Logan's Fort, although defended by only a small force, offered the raiders little in the way of a

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[92] In the first half of the twentieth century the role of the British was particularly emphasised by historians whilst even later works often see British agents and go-betweens such as Simon Girty, Alexander McKee, and Matthew Elliot tend receive some significant attention. Of course these fascinating characters and the roles they played are necessarily deserving of study but even where these charismatic individuals helped to guide Indian attacks or policy, the Indians followed only because such actions served their best interests. These interests, it should always be remembered, converged with those of the British but were not dependent upon them. See Siebert 'Kentucky's Struggle with its Loyalist Proprietors,' pp. 113-123, See Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, pp. 76-87, and Belue *The Hunters of Kentucky*, pp. 169-173

[93] To be sure, the British encouraged the Indians, whenever they could, to target the settlers but it was incidents which directly affected the Indians – the arrival of settlers in the west, the murder of individuals such as Cornstalk, or tribal military successes – which drove the Indians in their most active periods. See 'Letter from General Edward Hand to Jasper Yeates, October 2nd, 1777' in Thwaites and Kellogg (eds.) *Defence on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 118-120

[94] Richard M. Ketchum *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997), pp. 265-284

[95] 'Speech from Colonel George Morgan to the Shawnee Chiefs, March 25th, 1778' in Thwaites and Kellogg (eds.) *Defence on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 234-235

[96] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), March 27th, 1778, p. 2

[97] Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 40-41

[98] 'Letter from Colonel John Bowman to General Edward Hand, December 12th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN192-196

potential bounty in scalps or prisoners. Boonesborough, on the other hand, offered the warriors their best opportunity to capture or kill significant numbers without encountering the problems posed by Harrodsburgh's much greater defensive capability. Before reaching the town, however, the party encountered a large number of men harvesting salt at the Lower Blue Licks whom they promptly, and bloodlessly, took into custody.[99]

With a major bounty in captives, the Shawnee no longer had to risk a winter time assault upon a fortified position and instead returned to the Ohio country with their new captives in tow. Although they may have returned to their towns the warriors who had set out to strike Boonesborough maintained a close watch upon this settlement and, the following summer, Blackfish was able to gather an even larger force for a second expedition against the town. When the Shawnee returned they continued a pattern which months of increased raids had already established; the fear and terror tactics of the previous year were married effortlessly with a very significant rise in the level of real conflict.[100] This was no longer a war of ideas, but a war of actuality. Ideas and their manipulation, however, would continue to provide the Indians with a significant arsenal of alternative weaponry; they may have lacked the artillery necessary to destroy the fort's stockade, but that does not mean that the Indians lacked the means to breach the fort's walls.[101]

Although the Shawnee no doubt planned to surprise Boonesborough, the escape of several prisoners captured during the earlier winter campaign meant that the town had warning enough to bolster its defences, complete its stockade, and ready itself for the coming siege.[102] By the time Blackfish and his army arrived at the town he found a reasonably well fortified position that could not be easily overrun. Rather than pull back or break his force into smaller guerrilla parties, however, Blackfish instead laid siege to the settlement, employing ideas as much as he did the gun and tomahawk in an attempt to render his enemies into a position of surrender. When Blackfish commenced mock negotiations with the fort's commanders he combined threats with seemingly innocuous requests to underline the potential dangers the settlers were facing. Probably one of the most cutting of these was the observation that should the inhabitants of the fort not surrender, the prisoners who would eventually be taken by the Shawnee would 'all be put to death,' whilst the town's 'young

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[99] 'Letter from General Edward Hand to General Horatio Gates, March 30th, 1778' Draper Manuscripts 3NN105-106

[100] 'Letter from Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming, April 13th, 1778' Draper Manuscripts 3ZZ14

[101] 'Letter from Governor Henry Hamilton to Sir Guy Carlton, 25th April, 1778' Draper Manuscripts 3NN109-110

[102] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 66-67 and Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 65-66

squaws [would be reserved] for wives.'[103] Blackfish even sent a messenger back to the fort, informing the defenders that 'some of the warriors wanted to see Boone's squaws.' It was likely a chilling and effective reminder of the earlier threats made against the town's population and the curt response that 'Boonesborough's squaws were very much afraid of the Indians' probably contained very little hyperbole.[104]

Indeed, it was not only the town's women who feared for their lives but many of the men with one, in particular, expressing his fear physically when he hid 'under Mrs. Stephen Hancock's bed.'[105] When negotiations, likely a ruse in the first place, finally broke down, the Indians opened fire upon the fort. When rifles were fired, their balls struck persons without regard for age or gender but one did not need to be struck by a bullet to feels its effects. When David Brundin was shot in the head, his slow and excruciating death became an event which the entire community had to endure. None were ignorant that, over the course of the next three days, as the fighting continued to rage outside the fort walls, 'all [of] the brains ran out of the wound' in Brundin's head. During the course of his death, Brundin apparently 'rocked his body,' incessantly but lacked either the ability or will to speak. He did, however, occasionally wipe 'away the oozing out brains with his hand.'[106] Brundin may not have spoken after sustaining his injury but his silence likely spoke volumes to those around him and word of his bad death spread quickly. No one experienced Brundin's death but the man himself, but the community as a whole were made very aware by his example just how horrific warfare could become.[107]

Direct assaults and sieges such as that which Boonesborough suffered through in the summer of 1778 brought together the entire community through a shared ordeal. Such attacks did not discriminate between martial and non-martial members of society – much to the detriment of the man who hid under Mrs. Hancock's bed – but instead involved all of those within the immediate vicinity. Certainly, all who lived at Boonesborough during the time of the siege were extremely vulnerable in a manner which had been largely alien to them beforehand. To be sure, many settlers had conceived themselves as being vulnerable throughout the preceding year, but as 1778 drew on and the war escalated, that vulnerability was transformed from an abstract idea.[108] The belief that the frontier was a dangerous place and that danger largely stemmed from the Indians was brought into much sharper focus for

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[103] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC75
[104] ibid
[105] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 68
[106] ibid, pp. 68-69
[107] ibid
[108] *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), October 30th, 1778, p. 3

many by the siege. In short order, the fort's women found it necessary to don male clothing as they ran bullets to the beleaguered defenders, 'assuming the masculine tone of voice – as far as possible – to increase to the Indians, the apparent strength of the fort.'[109] Even as they provided this essential role, some were forced to remove stray bullets which had struck their bodies in order to continue the ruse; evidently the Indians were not alone in employing psychological techniques to unbalance and confuse their enemy.[110]

Even those settlers not living in Boonesborough found themselves in far more vulnerable position when rumour, idea, and fear was transformed into a tangible threat. William Pattin, a resident of the town, returned to Boonesborough from a hunting trip only to find it surrounded and besieged by Blackfish's army. Taking up a hidden vantage point, Pattin observed the unfolding siege. On the final evening of the attack the Indians brought their assault to a crescendo as waves of warriors rushed the fort walls with lit torches and flaming arrows. As the warriors did so, they 'made the most Dreadfullest screams and howling that could be imagind [sic],' a sonic and physical assault so great that 'Pattin thought the Fort was taken.'[111] Panicked by what he believed he had witnessed, this lone woodsman set out for Logan's Fort where he informed the town's inhabitants that 'Boonesborough was taken' and that 'he actuly Did hear the Indians killing the people in the fort [sic].' Nor were the descriptions he gave vague or uncertain; 'he said...He heard the women and Children and men also screaming when the Indians was killing them.'[112]

The effect of the final Shawnee attempt upon Boonesborough obviously affected Pattin, but it had a much wider impact when his account spread among the inhabitants of Logan's Fort. Now vague stories of individuals and small groups being killed, wounded, or captured paled in comparison to the very real threat which had come to bear upon the settlers. Accordingly, those living in Logan's Fort prepared for the worst: women, children, and men all rushed to gather supplies or hastily buttress the town's defences. Under instructions from Benjamin Logan the settlers readied themselves for an assault which everyone seemed to expect. Problematically, most of the town's livestock was scattered in the surrounding woodlands, a reality which prompted between six and eight men to volunteer for the dangerous task of leaving the stockade and entering the wilderness. These volunteers, however, were dismissed by Logan who told the group 'Stop! I am afraid for you to go. I will

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[109] John D. Shane 'Interview with Richard French, Son of Miss Calloway' Draper Manuscripts 12CC203
[110] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 68-69
[111] Daniel Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue: Memorandum Made by me D Trabue in the Year 1827 of a Jurnal of Events from Memory and Tradition [sic]' in Chester Raymond Young (ed.) *Westward into Kentucky: The Narrative of Daniel Trabue* (1981; reprint, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), p. 59
[112] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 59-60

go by myself...I will hunt the cattle and Indians alone.'[113] If the panic that gripped the fort abated somewhat whilst Logan was out, his return, an hour later, no doubt reignited it. Bleeding profusely, Logan had sustained a broken arm and had been shot in at least two places by a party of Indians who had ambushed him in the wilderness. If any had not believed Pattin's account of the siege, or Logan's warning that 'their was but little Doubt but the indeans would come to our Fort [sic],' then it is highly unlikely such doubts persisted following his return.[114] Logan's warning that 'if the indeans takes the fort they will kill me and all the sick and wounded' was likely meant to inspire the men within the stockade to make the most effective stand they could, but the appearance of a small number of Indians outside the town walls that night likely underlined the point in a way Logan never could.[115] More effective still was the appearance, in the morning, of the very cattle which Logan had hunted when he was attacked and wounded. Much of the stock that approached the town did so 'with arrows in them,' apparently looking back in the direction from which they had come. It was a 'Meloncholy Morning [sic],' indeed.[116]

Whatever feeling of hopelessness may have gripped the community at dawn, faded into relative insignificance when the town's inhabitants heard and saw what they believed to be the Indian army that had already defeated Boonesborough. 'Yes, yes the indins is a coming [sic],' some of the town's guard whispered whilst some of the women apparently cried out at the sight, 'Lord, have mercy on us. Yonder they come.'[117] As the settlers' readied themselves for the coming attack those armed and manning the stockade began shouting towards the approaching column, 'Dam[n] you! Come on!' before readying their rifles to make their stand. When, finally, it was noticed that the approaching column was composed entirely of men who had left to the town in order to aid Boonesborough, the reality of the past days finally began to present itself.[118] All at once the defeat of Boonesborough was revealed as the fiction it was whilst the truth behind the siege of Logan's Fort presented itself; it had been no more than a minor raid made significant by the community's collective imagination. To be sure, the people of Logan's Fort – and the Kentucky country in general – would and did come into contact with significant levels of violence throughout 1778 but imagined conflict continued to be an

[113] ibid, p. 60
[114] ibid
[115] ibid, p. 61
[116] ibid. Deliberately maiming livestock was not a new practice and examples of such tactics date back to at least King Philip's War where livestock played a particularly symbolic role. Cattle may have provided less symbolism a century later, but the sight of deliberately mangled animals was no less potent because of this. For a fuller discussion on this issue, see Chapter Three of this thesis. See also Virginia DeJohn Anderson *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[117] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' p. 62
[118] Ibid pp. 62-63

important factor even as the number of actual confrontations soared. Blackfish may have set out to capture or kill the inhabitants of Boonesborough but the resulting siege became a country-wide, communal affair. The tomahawk and gun were certainly major agents of frontier interaction that year, but the *idea* of them appears to have lost none of its potency as a result.

Boonesborough did not fall as a result of Blackfish's siege. Following an assault that lasted almost two weeks, the Indian army finally broke up, leaving in its wake only two bodies within the town's robust fortifications.[119] Light casualties, however, did not equate to the community escaping the collective ordeal which such sieges necessarily imposed upon them. Whether the casualties were light or not is irrelevant; had the settlement's stockade failed then potentially every one of the town's inhabitants would have been killed, captured or wounded.[120] All of the threats and dangers which the settlers believed they had faced over the past twelve months had stood before them, writ large in the massive number of Indians who had aligned against them. To compound matters, those apprehensions would continue to define the culture of fear which the war had inspired; whereas imagined violence had dominated Kentucky prior to 1778, it now served to compliment extensive physical confrontations. Every assault or attack was accompanied by residual components that reached out to affect many more people – witnesses, survivors, and concerned friends and family – than those directly involved in the incident.[121]

The psychological element of warfare was never absent from the trans-Appalachian west. Often, such tactics were used deliberately, such as the day the 'Indians came along and stole all of John Smith's bed clothes,' or the occasion when they 'threw a couple of frogs' into an unattended pan of boiling sugar water.[122] Such exercises in 'mischief,' as such actions were often characterised by the settlers, offered those carrying them out no real tactical advantage

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[119] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 67-70 and Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 65-70

[120] A good example of this occurring took place when Martin's and Ruddle's Stations were both captured several years later. Like Boonesborough these fortified towns faced large Native American armies but unlike this earlier siege British artillery threatened to obliterate the settlers' only real defensive advantage. As result the towns had little choice but to surrender, a decision that saw hundreds of persons ferried across the frontier or killed for their scalps. John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Falconer' Draper Manuscripts 11CC135-139, and John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 11CC276-279

[121] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Niblick' Draper Manuscripts 11CC84-85, John D. Shane 'Interview with John Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 17CC6-25, John D. Shane 'Interview with Joseph Ficklin' Draper Manuscripts 16CC257-285, and 'Letter from Major Henry Taylor to General Edward Hand, August 17th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1U83. For an earlier example of familial alarm being generated by the war see 'Letter from Samuel Shreve to Mrs. Samuel Shreve, June 6th, 1776' Shreve Family Papers, Filson Historical Society

[122] John D. Shane 'Interview with Benjamin Stites' Draper Manuscripts 13CC56-57

or tangible benefit. They did, however, remind the settlers that they were never far from danger. Such activities were carried out because they were detrimental to the morale of individuals and the larger group and morale is nothing if not a measure of a group's attitude towards the obstacles they face. By playing upon apprehensions and fears, the Indians who raided the frontier could help alter attitudes and, ultimately, force some settlers back across the Appalachian Mountains without having to engage them in combat first. Throughout this period, many individuals, irrespective of age or gender, lost more than a night's sleep owing to the apprehension which the Indians were able to foster among them. Mrs. Gough, for instance, would relate to John Shane how her mother, hearing the cow bells jangling and seeing the cane shake, would lie awake all night in fear. The fear that these noises were being generated by Indians, not cows, served to keep Gough's mother firmly within the bounds of her home.[123] On numerous other occasions the possibility of Indian raids saw men, women, and children alike scurrying for places of perceived safety. Very often such persons hid themselves under beds, or gathering their children together, they simply 'hid in the blankets' whilst they awaited the danger, whether real or imagined, to pass.[124]

Through subtle signs and markers, raiding parties were able to terrorise massive portions of the settler population, but subtlety was not always employed. Outside of Louisville parties of Indians were known to have appeared 'and danced freely to provoke [the inhabitants'] notice' whilst leaving behind heavily mutilated bodies was probably one of the most overt and common methods the Indians employed to send a message to their foes.[125] When General Scott's son was attacked and mortally wounded by the Indians he was displayed in such a manner as to provoke the maximum degree of torment in his would-be rescuers. The fact that the young man was still alive – but beyond help – when he was discovered only served to increase the effectiveness of this ploy. Having mortally wounded the young man as he travelled up a river bank, his attackers had gone to no small effort in order to move his dying body to the opposite shore, entangling one arm around a crooked tree root so that he could be left half submerged in the water. In this awkward position Scott was both highly visible from the settlers' shoreline and simultaneously beyond the easy reach of aid. Indeed, so secure were the Indians in their new position that they 'took their time,' first cutting one scalp and then, upon finding Scott's double crown, a second.[126] When General Scott arrived with a body of men in search of his lost boy he was visibly distressed to find him scalped, restrained in the water, and still alive. When the general inquired as to his son's

[123] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs Gough' Draper Manuscripts 11CC97-98
[124] John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain John Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 17CC6-25
[125] John D. Shane 'Interview with a Woman in Cincinnati' Draper Manuscripts 13CC9-18
[126] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Moseby' Draper Manuscripts 11CC270-271

circumstances, the younger Scott was careful to warn his father off from any rescue attempt. '[T]he Indians,' he informed his father, 'were waiting for him.' Regardless of the danger, General Scott, 'a daring, as well as a feeling man' attempted to swim over to his son, heedless of the threat. His men, however, would not allow him to swim into a potential ambush and instead restrained him from any such attempt. After an uncertain period of time, the younger Scott 'finally fell back out in the water,' dead from his numerous wounds.[127] Even then the danger was too great to recover the body and instead the younger Scott sat as a morbid monument to his fate until the following morning. Although the young man had warned his father of a potential ambush no evidence appears to have been discovered to suggest his appraisal of the situation had been correct. Indeed, it is entirely possible that the Indians had not awaited Scott's rescuers but had simply positioned him in a particularly striking manner for his eventual discovery.[128]

Prior to being scalped, dead bodies were often mutilated with tomahawks; in addition to scalping, brains could be dashed out, additional slashes added to bodies, and body parts removed. This practice is particularly noteworthy because it left clear and vivid images which stayed with many settlers throughout their lives.[129] Time and again these images and memories were reproduced when former settlers were asked by men like John Shane to offer oral accounts of their time on the frontier decades later. During both the frontier and the later antebellum periods the dead spoke to the living with the apparent voices of those who had taken their lives; they did this because their remains were treated in a particular manner designed to accomplish this end and few settlers exposed to such sights showed a propensity to forget them.[130]

Memories of dead or nearly dead persons were enduring but they were only one thread in a complex tapestry that helped shape a world view that would, in some form, stay with the settlers throughout their lifetime. Indeed, the Indians employed other, less dramatic, though no less potent methods of antagonising the settlers throughout the war. When a group travelling through the wilderness in western Virginia found a series of letters on an Indian trail ominously inviting them to cross the Ohio River and, hence, enter Indian lands, the

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[127] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Moseby' Draper Manuscripts 11CC270-273

[128] ibid

[129] John D. Shane 'Interview with Isaac Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC1, John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC76, and John D. Shane 'Interview with a Woman in Cincinnati' Draper Manuscripts 11CC279-283

[130] John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain John Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 17CC6-25, John D. Shane 'Interview with unknown person' Draper 11CC279-283, Shane 'Interview with George Fearis' Draper Manuscripts 13CC238-244. Many more examples could be given as a significant majority of Shane's interviews spoke of those killed by the Indians. For a more detailed discussion of this issue please see the dénouement of this thesis

settlers were so unnerved that 'all the members of the party were mutually sworn not to divulge the secret of [the letters'] contents, for the next six months.'[131] In other cases the psychological impact of the war was largely unplanned but was present nonetheless, the natural fallout of incessant harassment and guerrilla techniques. One of the most common tactics employed by the Indians to antagonise and worry the settler population was horse theft, causing as it did a marked decline in essential resources whilst minimizing the risk faced by Indian raiders. It was also a way of luring settlers out from the safety of their stockades and blockhouses and, as such, escalating horse theft came to reflect the escalation of the overall war. This practice allowed very small numbers of Indians to materially benefit themselves – and their tribe – at the settlers' expense, but it also had the advantage of reminding the settlers that their townships and homes were under a seemingly constant vigil and that the basic resources they required to survive and prosper were always vulnerable. When Mrs Morrison awoke one night to the sound of Indians removing the bells from her family's horse stock, she failed to wake her husband because, in spite of the hardship such thefts would impose upon her family, she feared 'he would be too venturesome.' Or to put it another way, she was scared that her husband would be killed if he tried to prevent the theft. The Indians who stole the Morrisons' horses did so for a number of reasons but it is unlikely that keeping Mrs Morrison up all night with worry was one of their foremost goals. They did, however, manage to achieve this in addition to the successful theft of the family's horses.[132]

Closure

Throughout the period of the frontier war physical combat was augmented by psychological warfare, a technique that allowed the Indians to have a significant impact upon their enemies when direct confrontations were either impossible or likely to result in excessive casualties. This type of warfare played upon the attitudes and, hence, the behaviour of their enemy; put simply, the Indians' war was one designed to undermine the settlers' collective and individual morale. Indian raids throughout 1777 were never as large or as dangerous as most settlers imagined, yet throughout this year settler after settler left the country, bringing the Euro-American population in the region to the point of collapse. By carefully disguising their numbers and engaging in a type of harassment designed to create alarm and erode any sense of safety, the Indians who raided regions such as Kentucky and western Virginia were able to gain a disproportionate victory against their adversaries, emptying large areas of the frontier,

[131] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 12CC138-144
[132] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Morrison' Draper Manuscripts 11CC150-154

without having to engage the settler population in any large scale or significant battles. This year was one dominated not by war but rather the idea, the fear, of conflict, something which the Indians utilized to their fullest advantage. Whilst the use of such techniques proved remarkably effective in many ways, they had an unforeseen outcome that fundamentally affected how the settler population of the frontier came to view the Indians. For the most part, the Indian became an abstract, the settlers' natural, aggressive, and unrestricted enemy. Even as raiding parties used ideas to empty the frontier, they were inadvertently laying an enduring groundwork that would make it all but impossible for most settlers to view them with empathy in the future. By deliberately harassing and terrorising the settlers, the Indians may have scored a huge demographic victory in 1777, but they created a detrimental image of themselves among the settlers that would be renewed, refreshed, and reinvigorated almost continuously until the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. More problematic still, by the end of the frontier war these tactics had been employed almost continuously for the best part of two decades – four, if one includes the Seven Years War – a process which left a potent folk legacy and memory that would haunt the Indians for decades.

By the end of 1777 the death of Cornstalk had led to a massive escalation in the war as the Shawnee, Mingo and significant numbers from other tribes – such as the Wyandot, Miami and Delaware – began dispatching much larger groups to fight on the frontier. But even with the advent of large scale warfare, the management of fear and apprehension remained an important weapon in the Indians' arsenal and throughout the remaining eighteen years of the war, the settlers of the frontier were subjected to a campaign of relentless terror. For some, this resulted in a retreat from areas where the campaign was most effective whilst for others it resulted in hardening of resolve and an escalation in the fighting. For most, however, this campaign hardened anti-Indian attitudes, reinforcing the idea that this group was inherently dangerous and antagonistic. Whether or not a settler suffered a direct loss at Indian hands became almost irrelevant as such tactics and methods ensured that they suffered as a result of the culture of fear to which they belonged. A given settler may not have lost friends or family to raids, but they nonetheless came to be affected by the war and those whom they identified as it primary agents; the Indians. Whatever the response of a given individual, the sights and ideas which were cultivated in the wilderness often stayed with the settlers long after the war had come to an end and can be observed echoing through oral source material generated throughout the nineteenth century. This type of warfare was no incidental matter and thus it helped to form the basis of one of the most significant pressure points which helped to shape society in early Kentucky and western Virginia. Physical violence was certainly a potent force but when the psychological element is analysed the potential impact of war upon society

becomes much more evident. Guns and tomahawks certainly led the way in this war, but those imagined were, in many ways, just as important as those which were actually used.

It was not just that the level of violence was growing; it was the type of violence, the mode of fighting, that was important. By creating and then exploiting fear in their enemies, the Indians came within a hairsbreadth of emptying the Kentucky country in 1777. However, the realities of the psychological warfare which they employed ensured that those who remained – and many of those who would subsequently arrive – did so with a new understanding of the world they inhabited. By dominating the wilderness, the Indians were able to shape the settlers' relationship with their environment, a process with surprisingly far reaching consequences which will be analysed throughout the next chapter. By creating the idea that certain zones within the Kentucky country were safe, such as settlements, or unsafe, such as the wilderness, the Indians altered the relationship between the settlers and the landscape which they aspired to master. This changing relationship was one of the formative forces which helped to define settler society in the Kentucky country. Between the continuing impact of psychological warfare and the changing relationships which the next chapter of this thesis will explore, the settlers could do little to escape the conflict. Instead, they had to live with the war, a process which necessarily demanded change and adaptation.

Chapter Three

Invisible Empire

August, 1778. Josiah Collins and a small band of settlers set out for David Glenn and William Stuart's cabin, a small structure some '50 or 40 miles' from the group's base in Harrodsburgh. The purpose of the trip had been simple; to bring the preserved bear meat located in the cabin back to the town. However, a round trip of no less than eighty miles through a country almost completely dominated by the Indians had ensured that the execution of their plan had been anything but uncomplicated. Indeed, the danger was so acute that, upon the return leg of their journey, the band had refused to stop, rest, or camp through the night. They did, however, stop when they encountered an unconcealed camp fire on the last part of their journey but, rather than discovering the expected band of Indian raiders, the band had instead discovered something far more surprising; a careless German immigrant by name of John Shelp. Curious, Collins' band had pressed the newly arrived Shelp as to why he had so blatantly flaunted his presence, disregarding the most basic rules of wilderness survival. According to Collins, Shelp had replied that he 'wasn't afraid [and that he] Wo'dn't die till his time came.' Such an attitude did little to comfort Collins' band. Indeed, they found Shelp's ignorance of the wilderness both vexing and reckless with Collins, in particular, moved to refer to this man thereafter as 'a fool of the Dutch fort.' That Shelp was later killed whilst out on a similar trip appears to have made perfect sense to the enraged settler.[1] As Collins and his party knew well, the wilderness had to be treated differently from the settlements. Here the rules were altered and the dangers heightened. The settlers may have mastered the environment encapsulated by their palisades but beyond their limits it was the Indian who was king.

For Josiah Collins, Shelp had demonstrated a failure to understand the new circumstances which he and his compatriots were beginning to identify as self evident. Shelp may have been of Germanic origin but Collins' negative attitude towards him was the product not of his ethnic heritage but of his failure to adapt to the realities of the frontier, a failure to accept that the wilderness was a place where even skilled, experienced woodsmen were in danger. Not long before their encounter, one of Collins' closer acquaintances, a man named James Kelly, had been found not only dead but disembowelled after a disastrous evening spent

[1] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC103

in the woodlands, a morbid reminder of the dangers associated with the outside world.[2] Even the rescue party dispatched to hunt for Kelly had abandoned the search as soon as night had begun to fall, too fearful that the de-illuminated world of the wilderness would place them all in immediate danger.[3] Worse still, Kelly had been accompanied by his brother, William, who had been forced to listen to the sound of 'the Indians singing & dancing round his brother,' as they set about mutilating and distorting his remains. Collins, then, clearly understood that the wilderness was not an environment to be taken lightly and when he encountered those ignorant of this it is hardly surprising to see frustrations drawn and dwelled upon.[4] Indians were very quickly coming to be viewed as an abstract, aggressive whole, but so too was the wilderness coming to be identified as the host – or indeed the cause – of innumerable related dangers.[5]

Since the initial settlement of Kentucky three years before and, particularly, since the death of Cornstalk the previous year, the war on the frontier had served to redefine how the majority of settlers had come to construct and understand the wilderness. Far from an insignificant concept of geography, the wilderness dominated the landscape and was a key part of the settlers' larger world view. It surrounded every settlement, providing much needed game for hunters.[6] The wilderness was also the area that bound one settlement to another whilst, simultaneously, obscuring paths and roads, inhibiting travel and slowing the exchange of people, goods and information. Perhaps most importantly, the wilderness represented everything the settlers sought to change about the Kentucky country; canebrakes were to be removed, trees felled, land ploughed, and the environment transformed. By the end of 1778, however, the Indians had succeeded in claiming this broad region as their own. The wilderness played a central role in shaping frontier society but, as this chapter will demonstrate, the loss of that region to the Indians forced the settlers to adjust their world view to accommodate an all-encompassing landscape over which their enemy could claim mastery. By dominating the

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[2] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC102

[3] Peter Silver, in his study of Indian-settler relations throughout the eighteenth century, has identified a similar phenomenon occurring throughout the mid-Atlantic colonies, something he describes as 'foot dragging.' According to Silver it was a common occurrence for parties to abandon their pursuit of Indians at an early stage, or to deliberately delay their setting out in the first place in order to minimize the chances of actually engaging a hostile Indian party. This, Silver argues, is largely a result of the 'terroristic' nature he identified in Indian warfare. Much of Silver's argument is sound but some of the generalisations he makes are perhaps too broad as, at least in the trans-Appalachian region, there are many exceptions to this rule. Whether these exceptions prove or disprove the concept is an issue that is open to debate. See Silver *Our Savage Neighbours*, pp. 41-41, 54-55

[4] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' 12CC102

[5] 'Letter from Arthur Campbell to George Brown, December 29th, 1787' Arthur Campbell Papers A/C187/1,2,4, Filson Historical Society

[6] John D. Shane 'Interview with Richard French' Draper Manuscripts 12CC205, John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC102, and John D. Shane 'Interview with Colonel James Lane' Draper Manuscripts 12CC56

land, the Indians helped the settlers to create a particular perspective of the environment which served to bridge, negate, or soften a number of pre-existing social divisions ranging from gender to race, ethnicity and class. By dominating the landscape outside of the stockades, the Indians effectively divided the environment into two broad zones, one which they controlled – the majority of the wilderness – and one which was controlled by the settlers. This enforced division of the land, a product of psychological and growing levels of physical warfare, served to create some important bonds of commonality. Settlers may have arrived upon the frontier with a clear sense of social division, but the universal threat and hardship posed by the wilderness created a shared sense of a common identity which negated or softened many such divisions.[7] In short, the settlers' construction of the wilderness helped them to build a sense of themselves as a group bound by shared interests, dangers, aspirations and experiences.

For many, the Indians and the wilderness came to be closely related as the presence of the latter often appeared to suggest the presence of the former, a perception which was exacerbated by the Indians' expert use of guerrilla warfare. In the words of one settler reflecting upon Indian dominance of the environment following Cornstalk's murder 'The Western Country co'd never have been settled, had there been, so early, the interruption on the wilderness that there afterwards was.'[8] Along with violence and the idea of violence, then, the wilderness was one of the three major pressure points which helped to forge the specific type of society which developed in the trans-Appalachian territories. For the settlers of the frontier the wilderness was no romantic or idealised locale but one part of the multifaceted forces which appeared to be aligned against them.[9] To most, the beauty that later generations would see in such environments was undermined by the hardships they naturally encountered within such regions and the perceived dangers that came to dwell within them.[10] Henry David

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[7] For expressions of pre-existing social divisions see John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Morrison' Draper Manuscripts 11CC152

[8] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Gass' Draper Manuscripts 11CC11

[9] Catherine L. Albanese 'Savage, Sinner, and Saved: Davy Crockett, Camp Meetings, and the Wild Frontier' *America Quarterly*, Vol. 33 (1981): 482-501, p.483

[10] Perceptions of the wilderness varied from case to case and there were certainly those on the frontier, particularly long hunters, who appear to have enjoyed their experiences in the wilderness. The word, wilderness, however, is necessarily vague containing allusions as much to the backwoods of North Carolina in the years before the seven years war as it does towards the environment that settlers encountered in the trans-Appalachian region. For many, the wilderness contained happy memories and there are certainly strong hints of the romantic in Filson and Boone's narrative; 'from the top of an eminence, [we] saw the beautiful level of Kentucke.' But even within Filson and Boone's work there are numerous details given to undermine the apparent beauty of the country. Immediately following the above quote the narrative continues: 'Here let me observe, that for some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather a prelibation of our future sufferings [sic].' Indeed, throughout this narrative the potential beauty of the country is undermined by the hardships of war, a vivid contrast the romance later writers would impose upon the concept of a wilderness; Theodore Roosevelt somewhat echoed Filson and Boone's caution, but never at the expense of the environment's perceived beauty. Instead, he highlighted danger only as a device to emphasise the capable masculinity of those who

Thoreau may have believed that 'in the Wildness is the preservation of the world,' but the settlers of the trans-Appalachian west could rarely adhere to such a view for, from their perspective, in the wilderness lay danger, hardship and only the occasional moment of beauty.[11] For them, the preservation of life lay not in the wild, but within structures which were 'handsomely stockade[d].'[12]

Indeed, the stockade came to define their environment; on either side of the defensive wall lay two broad zones which, in turn, helped to define the settlers' understanding of the world and their place within it. On the one hand the wilderness represented almost the entire country; a vast area over which settler control was marginal, a region in which 'Danger became familiar.'[13] On the other hand the settlements which they constructed came to offer a good level of refuge from these dangers, defining in the process the spaces in which most settler interaction would occur. The wilderness and settlement zones thus became distinct entities, each requiring their own specific sets of knowledge and skills. Men like John Shelp did not draw the ire of Collins through their arrogance, but rather their inability to recognise that the wilderness required its own specific attitude and set of abilities. A fire may have been a common luxury in one's homestead, but in the wilderness it could lead to a swift – or, for that matter, not so swift – and brutal end. Differences such as these can appear trivial but to the settlers they became matters of life and death which helped to cultivate an important distinction within their society; those who operated largely within the confines of the settled world, and those who were able to operate in the wilderness. These distinctions were not based upon existing notions of identity, nor should they be analysed strictly through the lenses provided by existing categories of analysis. Although pre-existing ideas and prejudices remained, the lines which separated them were often blurred by this new distinction, itself a fluid concept dominated by the growth of a communal identity which was forged within the confines of the isolated frontier township.[14]

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engaged with such environment; 'The man should have youth and strength who seeks adventure in the wild...He must long greatly for the lonely winds that blow across the wilderness, and for sunrise and sunset over the rim of the empty world.' See Theodore Roosevelt and Paul Schullery (ed.) *Wilderness Writings* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1986), p. 31 and Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 50-51

[11] Henry David Thoreau and Eliot Porter *In the Wildness is the Preservation of the World* (New Jersey: BBS Publishing, 1996). For an example of settlers identifying some beauty or facility within the wilderness see John D. Shane 'Interview with David Crouch' Draper Manuscripts 12CC226

[12] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Stagg' Draper Manuscripts 12CC236

[13] John D. Shane 'Conversation with Chilton Allen' Draper Manuscripts 11CC53

[14] Elizabeth Perkins argues that it is the 'distinction and patricians' which helped to define frontier society during this period, but it should be noted that Perkins does accept that 'attitudes about others were contingent...[on] actual experience.' However, Perkins consistently emphasises the differences between settlers rather than analysing how pre-existing divisions were challenged or altered by experience upon the frontier. This argument stems, in part, as a response to ideas dating from Frederick

To the immigrants attempting to settle this region the idea of a wilderness – an area utterly outside of their control – was a highly problematic reality. That the control of this region appeared to fall into Indian hands made it all the more frustrating for a settler population who were striving to bring this environment into their exclusive sphere of influence. Both as a battleground and as an idea, the wilderness came to be the scene and cause of much conflict throughout the trans-Appalachian region. The environment which dominated the frontier appeared to the settlers to serve no real long term purpose and, as such, they strove to transform it in order to facilitate both cultivation and meaningful individual ownership. Moreover, they also sought to transform it to facilitate communal safety, turning this invisible empire of the Indians into a space which was ordered to meet their specific needs. For the Indian tribes now fighting in this region, the environment had to remain largely unchanged. Only in its pre-settlement form did it offer these communities a sustainable supply of game to hunt. These competing goals and perspectives were mutually exclusive and as such the wilderness became as much a prize as it did a battleground; settlers sought to remake it anew whilst the Indians sought to restore it to its former, settler-less, glory. This realisation was not lost upon those who fought in and against the environment and as both an idea and place the wilderness played a fundamental role in helping to forge a community from the disparate bands of immigrants who sought to settle the country.

In describing the environment in which they came to dwell, the settlers of Kentucky commonly used the word 'wilderness.'[15] Although this description of the environment is certainly evocative it is also imprecise, describing an array of possible variations in the landscape.[16] From heavily wooded areas to grassy plains, the wilderness concept was seemingly applied without qualification to any type of environment which lacked significant evidence of human intervention.[17] When the settlers used this word, however, they did so because it was loaded with a very specific set of connotations which reflected their view of the

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Jackson Turner's frontier thesis and though Perkins' study sheds some important light upon the sheer plurality in early Kentucky it fails to account for the dynamic nature of that society. To be sure, settlers would continue to recognise differences among their neighbours but those differences were rarely defined; the idea that different groups converging upon a common geographic location would generate comments highlighting those differences is not particularly surprising. What is, however, is the extent to which those differences failed to manifest themselves in a significantly divisive manner. To be sure, many of Perkins' observations and interpretations contain much value but, as this chapter will demonstrate, emphasising difference in this region has far less value than analysing the factors and forces that overcame these divisions. See Perkins *Borderlife*, p. 81-86

[15] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Gass' Draper Manuscripts 11CC11

[16] For examples of how widely interpretations of the wilderness can vary – and how fundamentally they can be affected by contemporary agendas see J. Baird Callicott and Michael P. Nelson (eds.) *The Great Wilderness Debate* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1998)

[17] Max Oelschlaeger *The Idea of the Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 356

world they inhabited.[18] Understanding how the settlers conceptualised the environment, then, is crucial to understanding the environment's impact upon their society, something which John Demos reflected in his work *Circles and Lines*. Not only did Demos emphasise the importance of natural cycles in daily routine – such as the often overlooked transition from day to night and summer to winter – he went so far as to emphasise the landscape as an obstacle to settlement, not merely its reward.[19] Similarly, Rhys Isaac would emphasise the interaction between settlers, the land, and the larger environment in his study of Virginia in the eighteenth century. Although the ability of the land to block, inhibit or otherwise limit settlement is not absent from Isaac's work he does emphasise a relationship between people and place rather than Demos' emphasis upon the land as an encumbrance.[20] For James H. Merrell, the wilderness presented an ordeal shared by settlers and Indians, something which is emphasised by ceremonies designed to symbolically relieve wilderness travellers of the hardships suffered on their journey. Rather than an environment in which the Indians flourished, Merrell's interpretation of the wilderness instead emphasises the shared hardships which bridged, rather than divided, cultures.[21]

In the case of the Kentucky frontier, it was not merely an absence of human habitation or the imposition of subjective ideas, many of which originated in medieval Europe, which gave the environment its apparent character.[22] This was only one part of the issue and an equally important factor – possibly the most important factor – was the presence of hostile Indians from both the Ohio country and southern territories. Their presence came to be accentuated by the apparent wildness of the land and the paradoxical mastery which they, nonetheless, exercised over it. In particular, the Shawnee and Cherokee exploited trails and paths in Kentucky which allowed them to travel easily to each others' lands.[23] The Kentucky

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[18] Roderick Frazier Nash *Wilderness and the American Mind: Fourth Edition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. xi-xiv. For a general discussion concerning interpretations of the wilderness, see Anna Bramwell *Ecology in the Twentieth Century: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), Hans Peter Duerr *Dreamtime: Concerning the Boundary Between Wilderness and Civilization* (New York: Blackwell Publishers, 1987) and Oelschlaeger *The Idea of the Wilderness*, pp. 1-30

[19] John Demos *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 1-5, 58

[20] Rhys Isaac *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (1982; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 11-19

[21] Merrell *Into the American Woods*, pp. 139-142

[22] Nash *Wilderness and the American Mind*, pp. 8-22. For an example of a work specifically concerned with the Ohio Valley which argues that a wilderness is represented, at least in part, by an absence of European habitation see Perkins *Borderlife*, p. 45. For a discussion on the significance of Nash's work see Oelschlaeger *The Idea of the Wilderness*, pp. ix-x

[23] The Cherokee, living in what is now Tennessee, were separated by some considerable distance from the Shawnee who, by the late eighteenth century, had taken up residence in the Ohio country. Originally, the paths through Kentucky were utilized during the wars the Cherokee and Shawnee fought against one another. By the time of Euro-American settlement in the Kentucky country, however, there

country may have lacked any form of permanent habitation but its use as a highway, in addition to serving as a hunting ground, meant that those groups who aligned against the settlers were able to draw upon a significant fund of accumulated knowledge to better execute their designs.[24] The result was a settler population that initially floundered in a wilderness, struggling to come to terms with a local geography and environment which their adversaries utilized to their fullest advantage. To compound this situation, the environment, at least initially, failed to reflect the values and aspirations of the settlers. Here the environment existed for its own sake, or possibly the sake of the Indians, not for the benefit of individual advancement. In this place animals knew no husbandry whilst lines and borders in this zone were not drawn by man but by the natural course of the landscape, a process of the Earth, not of its inhabitants.[25] The wilderness was thus one of the most significant obstacles the settlers would have to overcome west of the Appalachians. On the one hand its transformation into farmlands was one of the key driving forces behind migration to the Kentucky country, whilst on the other the difficulties presented by the landscape and the dangers posed by the Indians who exploited their knowledge of it made the process of accomplishing that goal decidedly difficult.[26]

Even without Indians, the wilderness had its own array of dangers and hardships which many settlers identified as being contrary to the experiences they associated with stable society. In 1818 Elias Pym Fordham travelled through the Ohio Valley and Kentucky, a journey which led him to reflect upon his experiences in the less settled parts of the country: 'you will never have a correct idea of what a wilderness is,' he would later write, 'Whatever limits it may have on the map, however quickly the eye may traverse the chart...the traveller and hunter [will] find impediments, which give to him notions of extension.' When Fordham chose to dwell upon a subject he certainly had a sense for poetic prose but much of what he wrote appears to have rung very true for other wilderness travellers; 'to have pathless forests of trees around...and then to lie at night in a blanket...listening to the howling wolves, and

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had been a seismic shift in Native American tribal politics that saw these two tribes set aside their long term enmity in order to fight with one another against the new settler population. Stephen Aron's argument that this alliance was possibly more revolutionary than the unification of the thirteen colonies is an overstatement, but it does highlight the significance of this shift in alliance. Aron *How the West was Lost*, p. 38

[24] For Kentucky's use as a highway between the Shawnee and Cherokee see Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 6-7

[25] Zeisberger 'The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772-1781' in Wellenreuther and Wessel (eds.) *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger,* pp. 91-92

[26] 'Letter from Reverend John Brown to Colonel William Preston, May 5th, 1775' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ15

starting at the shriek of the terrible panther: This it is to be in a Wilderness alone.'[27] Fordham may not have experienced the earlier wilderness of the frontier war but he did identify in the woodlands a series of hardships and dangers which were not contingent upon the presence of Indians. In particular, predatory animals were certainly an issue.[28] John McKinney was no stranger to such dangers. Although his schoolhouse was not located deep within the wilderness, it was remote enough to encourage a wildcat to explore the structure and, finding the school master, attack him.[29] Luckily for McKinney – there after known as 'Wild-Cat John McKinney' – he was able to overcome the animal. The cat may have been killed 'with little injury to himself' but it had still taken two men to unclamp its dead jaws from McKinney's chest.[30] Wild animals were certainly a problem in the wilderness, but more problematic and common still was the Indian penchant for imitating the sounds or calls of those creatures in order to coordinate raids and ambushes. 'In the night,' Major Black would later recall, 'we heard owls all around' a phenomenon which Black's companions quickly identified as a harbinger of danger. In response the party had hurriedly returned to their boats, pushing them out into the relative safety of the river. Further downstream, however, the sight of meat which had been left on the side of the shore, apparently to lure them back, reminded the party of the very real danger the wilderness contained.[31] Under normal circumstances the sound of an owl hooting would not cause any alarm. Such, however, was not the case upon the frontier. More specifically, such was not the case in the frontier wilderness.[32]

To the individual traveller one of the greatest dangers the wilderness posed to their wellbeing was not necessarily the threats contained within the environment but the lack of assistance that could be obtained should one fall victim to them. Numerous persons went missing on journeys through the landscape, victims of a number of possible catastrophes made significantly more deadly by their absolute isolation.[33] This issue was particularly acute in the

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[27] Fordham and Ogg *Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indian, Kentucky; and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory*, pp. 168-170

[28] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 44-45

[29] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC73

[30] John D. Shane 'Interview with John McKinney's Family' Draper Manuscripts 11CC25-26 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Walter Kelso' Draper Manuscripts 12CC42

[31] John D. Shane 'Interview with Major Black' Draper Manuscripts 12CC151

[32] James B. Finley and W. P. Strickland (ed.) *Autobiography of Reverend James B. Finley; or, Pioneer Life in the West* (Cincinnati: R. P. Thompson, 1855), pp. 38-39, John D. Shane 'Interview with Isaac Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC1-4 and John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC54-56

[33] One of the most obvious cases would be that of Harrodsburgh founder, James Harrod. In this case no evidence exists detailing his ultimate fate and explanations range from the abandonment of his family (owing to rumours of his wife's infidelity) to death in the wilderness through an accident, murder by another settler, or as a victim of an Indian raiding party. Many former settlers claimed to know the definitive truth surrounding Harrod's mysterious disappearance and though virtually every tale is contradictory a large proportion focused upon the largely unknown quantity that was the wilderness.

1770s when there were few settlers in the region. John Stewart, an early explorer, appeared to have simply evaporated into the wilderness during a hunting trip leaving, as he did, no clue as to his ultimate fate. It would be six years before his remains would be discovered and the mystery of his disappearance finally laid to rest.[34] Environmental conditions, too, could be felt much more keenly when no permanent or suitable form of shelter was available to wilderness travellers and throughout the history of the backcountry individuals unable to fortify themselves against the elements 'perished' as a result of the conditions they endured.[35] Even in relatively ideal conditions travel through the wilderness could be physically demanding due to a lack of suitable roads.[36] Within the Kentucky country a network of traces – paths formed by successive generations of buffalo travelling over limestone which was worn into comparatively smooth corridors – existed but these narrow tracks were often barely discernable from the rest of the environment. In western Virginia and Tennessee, where there were fewer buffalo than in Kentucky, these traces were in worse condition still.[37] When John May travelled to the frontier in 1780 he wrote to an acquaintance that he had undertaken a journey 'through an uninhabited Country the most rugged and dismal I ever passed through.' As he travelled the wilderness, May encountered constant reminders of the difficulties that he and other travellers faced, 'there being thousands of dead Horses & Cattle on the Road Side which occasioned a continual stench.' To compound matters the area through which May had travelled contained no fresh water springs. Instead he and his party had to 'make use of the water from the Streams in w[hi]ch many of these dead animals lay.'[38]

May's experiences were not unique and many wilderness travellers suffered from the lack of habitations to which they had become accustomed. Even the settlements, each an oasis of Euro-American culture, could suffer from dejected or particularly poor conditions. During the winter of 1779, the settlement at the Falls of the Ohio – later to be known as Louisville – suffered in just this manner. Writing to his wife, William Fleming reported that the

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See John D. Shane 'Interview with Benjamin Snelling' Draper Manuscripts 12111-113, John D. Shane 'Interview with Sarah Graham' Draper Manuscripts 12CC45-53, and John D. Shane 'Notes Appended to J. Sappington's Interview' Draper Manuscripts 12CC70-71.

[34] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 28-29

[35] Rufus Putnam 'Memoirs of the Putnam Family,' p. 21

[36] James Merrell underlines this point when he demonstrated the importance of the Woods' Edge ceremony to Native Americans and Euro-American go betweens. Such ceremonies were powerful symbolic devices that allowed the hardship of wilderness travel to be left behind. Although such ceremonies likely served a significant role in clearing the way for negotiations the rituals performed demonstrate an understanding that travelling through the landscape could be a significant hardship which one had to recover from. Merrell *Into the American Woods*, pp. 20-27, 58, 91

[37] John A. Jake 'Salt on the Ohio Valley Frontier, 1770-1820' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 59 (1969): 687-709, pp. 687-691

[38] 'Letter from John May to Samuel Beall, April 15th, 1780' Beall-Booth Family Papers A/B365, Filson Historical Society

inhabitants of that settlement 'look[ed] like g'osts, daily dying, especially the young.' Apparently both the elderly and young were suffering a common ailment, 'dangerous eating ulcers in the mouth & face,' and all persons, regardless of age, appeared to Fleming to have been suffering 'the affects of Bilious & intermitting disorders and Agues.' Although possibly signs of a bacterial infection, scurvy, or malaria these symptoms were prescribed to both 'the water they drink' and the 'malignant Air' which they breathed.[39] Infectious diseases were hardly unique to the frontier but the outbreak of such epidemics helped to blur the line between settled areas and the wilderness, particularly as the settlers tended to interpret the infiltration of corrupt air and water as one of the principle causes of such epidemics. The response of many of Philadelphia's inhabitants to the outbreak of Yellow Fever in 1793 aptly demonstrates how disease could be interpreted as an invasion by some kind of outside force. Naturally, the logic behind the evacuation of the city had little to do with how the disease actually spread but this movement away from the urban centre nonetheless illustrates how invisible outside forces were interpreted by contemporaries.[40] In the specific case of the frontier the incursion of the hostile outside world into the comparatively controlled environment of the settlements was a problematic issue indeed, demonstrating as it did, that the wilderness would not merely retreat in the face of a Euro-American invasion, nor respect the boundaries the settlers attempted to enforce.

Unlike in Philadelphia, the settlers of the frontier had nowhere they could readily escape to when the outside world infiltrated their homes. When an invisible force afflicted a settlement the surrounding area was not a disease free haven but an area of equal or even greater danger. The wilderness, then, was no static entity but one prone to both retreat and advance and on numerous occasions the settlers were reminded that their influence could be fleeting indeed.[41] In 1784 a widow and her family attempted to gain access to a small fort built on the lower Blue Licks but the discovery that she and her children were afflicted with smallpox resulted in them being refused entry. In a very real way the settlers of this fort intended to keep the dangers of the outside world relegated to the area beyond the limits of

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[39] 'Letter from William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, December 3rd, 1779' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F597, Filson Historical Society

[40] Billy G. Smith 'Comment: Disease and Community' in J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith (eds.) *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation: The Public Response to the 1793 Yellow Fever Epidemic* (Philadelphia: Science History Publications, 1997), pp. 148-152

[41] Abandoned settlements were not an unusual sight in the backcountry as settlement was periodically retarded by both the environment and those who utilized it to their own purpose. The perception of this reality permeated popular culture in numerous forms, ranging from Mary Rowlandson's enduring captivity narrative, to a much wider folk knowledge gained primarily from the Seven Years War and other eighteenth century frontier conflicts (Rowlandson *A Narrative of the Captivity, Suffering, and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, pp. 11-17, John D. Shane 'Interview with James Wade' Draper Manuscripts 12CC11-41, and Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 44-50

their palisade. Quite literally, this danger was to be kept in the wilderness in an attempt to preserve the relative integrity of the settlement. Maintaining the purity of one's environment by eliminating or exiling perceived threats was not, however, limited to the settlers alone. Upon discovering that the banished family were infected, the Indians did likewise, killing the widow and her family in order to prevent the spread of this much feared disease.[42] The settlers did not wish to accommodate smallpox within the organized and relatively controlled world of their townships, just as the Indians did not wish to accommodate it within their sphere. By destroying the infected family, the Indians demonstrated a degree of symmetry in how they and the settlers organised their environments, but in so doing they also underlined the cumulative dangers that existed just beyond the limit of habitation. What exacerbated these conditions to the point of crises, however, was the ever present influence of the unfolding war with the Indians. When John May wrote to Samuel Beall of his ordeal travelling through the woodlands, he made this point explicit: 'what made the Journey still more disagreeable was, the continual apprehension we were under, of an Attack from the Indians, there not being one Day after we left Holtson, but News was brought to us of some Murders being committed by those Savages, and the vast Numbers we met, cautioning on that acc[oun]t, contributed not a Little to alarm us.'[43]

Indeed, much of the settlers' perspective of the wilderness was a direct result of Indian activities executed throughout the local environment. Many settlers fostered different attitudes towards the land prior to coming into contact with the frontier war. At least initially, many settlers did not conceive of the wilderness as a naturally dangerous place; instead it was seen as a space in which significant opportunity dwelled.[44] In the words of one aspiring settler writing in 1775, 'What a Buzzel is amongst the people about Kentuck? to hear people speak of it one Would think it was a new found Paradise [sic].'[45] Obviously the environment they imagined differed greatly from the one they discovered. There were certainly hardships and dangers associated with the landscape but the greatest were those which came as a result of

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[42] William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the Life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC81

[43] 'Letter from John May to Samuel Beall, April 15th, 1780' Beall-Booth Family Papers A/B 365, Filson Historical Society

[44] This is an interesting contrast to the situation Merrell described in the earlier colonial period. Merrell rightly frames his interpretation of the wilderness in terms of earlier European ideas about the environment but it is important to emphasise that attitudes towards the environment were prone to change as the eighteenth century progressed, particularly as a culture of woodland experience began to take shape in the backcountry. Although men like Daniel Trabue probably did feel some trepidation about their trip through the woodlands the development of widespread hunting, particularly long hunts, meant that they were able to recognise the region's potential benefits in addition to its potential hardships. See Merrell *Into the American* Woods, pp. 22-23

[45] 'Letter from Reverend John Brown to Colonel William Preston, May 5th, 1775' Draper Manuscripts 4QQ15

war. Wildernesses can be many things but high levels of danger are not necessarily inherent to the concept. On her journey through the wilderness in 1787 Mary Dewee was able to remark upon the beauty of particular scenes she had encountered without undue concern for the hardships she would later endure.[46] When Daniel Trabue reflected upon his journey to Kentucky in 1778 he remembered that he and his party 'entered the wilderness in high spirits' largely buoyed by images of forthcoming adventure and the abundant supply of game upon which they could easily draw for provisions.[47] Indeed, many settlers in later years would recall significant abundance within the wilderness which facilitated the easy acquisition of quality food, or at any rate, the easy acquisition of meat.[48] Of course it appears that hindsight allowed many to exaggerate or overstate the sheer bounty the country apparently offered and William Calk's journal from 1775 seems to suggest that buffalo and deer did not merely wander into a hunter's sights to happily await a timely execution. That said a hunter of only average skill appears to have been more than capable of supplying a significant amount of food.[49]

What Calk's journal and Trabue's reflections both demonstrate is that the natural obstacles which stood in the way of hunting were nothing compared to the perceived threat posed by Indian raiding parties.[50] This is an important point as the potential presence of Indians absolutely negated the ease with which settlers could engage in hunting. The firing of a single shot, for instance, could draw attention to an isolated group and, as such, parties often had to suffer from a lack of foodstuffs when an Indian presence was likely or anticipated. Naturally, settlers did not need to see Indians to believe that they were present and as such Indians did not actually need to be within striking distance to affect the wilderness experience; even as the settlers were surrounded by potential foodstuffs, many still had no choice but to suffer through periods of significant want.[51] This situation was aggravated by the relative lack of mastery many settlers yielded over the environment, something which the Indians and even the sub-culture of the Euro-American hunter brought into sharp focus. When Samuel Treble, for instance, accompanied the expert woodsman Michael Stoner into the wilderness he was unable to resist shooting at a deer which had wandered into the vicinity. Not being aware of his younger companion's enthusiasm, Stoner had become very much 'alarmed' by the issue of the gun fire and accordingly 'sprang down and treed in an instant and he called to me three

[46] 'Mary C. Dewee Travel Journal, particularly entries noted on October 1st and 7th,' Reuben T. Durrett Collection on Kentucky and the Ohio River Valley, University of Chicago Library: accessed 10:30am, 3/3/11, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fawbib:1:./temp/~ammem_hbmt::
[47] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' p. 44
[48] John D. Shane 'Interview with James Lane' Draper Manuscripts 12CC56, and William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the Life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC95-96
[49] 'Journal of William Calk, 1775' Calk Family Collection 2005M14, Kentucky Historical Society
[50] ibid and Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 42-43
[51] 'Letter from John May to Samuel Beall, April 15th, 1780' Beall-Booth Family Papers A/B365, Filson Historical Society

times to know if I was hurt.'[52] If Treble had not understood the potential danger he was in by simply travelling through the wilderness, it seems that the reaction of the ever popular and ever reliable Stoner gave him some indication.

For settler society as a whole it became largely impossible to separate the Indians from the wilderness, particularly as most Indian raiding parties utilized the environment extensively in their war against the settlers. This was a particularly problematic issue in the years prior to 1782 when the balance of environmental mastery leaned heavily towards the Indians.[53] In particular, their use of guerrilla warfare depended almost entirely upon their use of the environment, allowing them to appear and disappear apparently at will.[54] This type of combat was nothing new in the backcountry and its use by Indians had for some time undermined Anglo-American designs upon the Ohio Valley.[55] That, however, did not reduce its effectiveness and because direct assaults or sieges upon settlements were relatively rare affairs this type of engagement became the modus operandi of the frontier. It also ensured that the wilderness and the Indian became largely inseparable to contemporaries as a trip through the former could very often lead to an encounter with the latter. Although the actual likelihood of encountering an Indian raiding party varied according to the ebb and flow of hostilities, or according to the seasons, the possibility was often enough to discourage travel except where it was deemed absolutely necessary.[56]

One major impact this had upon the settlers, even within the confines of their townships, was a potential for starvation as hunting was often deemed too dangerous during times of heightened hostilities. In early 1778, for instance, Boonesborough suffered as the wilderness came alive with Cornstalk's avengers who, in addition to making farming almost impossible, also ensured that hunting was equally out of the question. Josiah Collins remembered decades later how, upon his arrival, he had 'found a poor, distressed, & naked, & starved people; daily surrounded by the savage.' Under slightly different circumstances the arrival of some eighty armed men would have lifted the spirits of those in the town but this

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[52] When Stoner 'treed' he was quite literally taking cover behind a tree, a common practice in the wilderness among settlers and Indians alike. John D. Shane 'Interview with Samuel Treble' Draper Manuscripts 12CC43-44

[53] It should be noted that over this period the level of wilderness skill did not remain static but, broadly speaking, increased as young men entered the region and gained experience as members of militia parties. In particular George R. Clark's campaigns in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio exposed a significant proportion of the region's male population to life in the wilderness. By around 1782 there was a reasonably high level of accumulated wilderness experience within the Kentucky country. For a settler perspective of some of Clark's campaigns see John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC105-108

[54] Peter E. Russell 'Redcoats in the Wilderness: British Officers and Irregular Warfare in Europe and America, 1740 to 1760' *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 35 (1978): 629-652

[55] Ward *Breaking the Backcountry*, p. 2 and Grenier *The First Way of War*, pp. 93-114

[56] John D. Shane 'Interview with a Woman in Cincinnati' Draper Manuscripts 13CC9-18

new group were unable to affect the situation in the nearby woodlands in any tangible way. Worse still, their arrival had inadvertently caused an already precarious situation to worsen further. In addition to the earlier difficulties which the settlers had faced in gathering sufficient foodstuffs they now faced the prospect of feeding an additional eighty mouths. With little other choice, the new arrivals quickly began to impose upon the settlement's remaining livestock without consent from their owners. According to Collins such actions were taken only due to the 'pressing necessity of our wants,' a situation which the current state of the wilderness prevented them from satisfying in almost any other manner.[57]

Upon occasion a hunting party would risk a trip outside the town in order to hunt buffalo for the town but, cut off from any easily accessible source of salt, the captured meat often spoiled and had to be barbequed or smoked if any hope was to be had of preserving it. Salt also served to negate the blandness of consuming only meat and, though it may seem like a small point, its absence meant that the settlers were constantly reminded, with every mouthful at every meal, how restricted their world had become.[58] The settlers of Boonesborough lived in something of an enforced isolation throughout most of 1778, too 'afraid' to draw upon the abundant resources which they all knew the wilderness contained.[59] Even when hunters were able to secure a supply of meat there was virtually no method of procuring bread or any other type of carbohydrate rich food, a deficiency which likely heightened physical exhaustion among the community. Thus, when the new comers imposed upon what little stock remained within the town tempers quickly frayed and the situation teetered upon the edge of violence. The butchering of one of Colonel Richard Calloway's steers, for instance, 'exasperated' him to the point where he 'swore that if any man killed another head of his stock, that he wo'd shoot him.'[60] Less dramatic but no less potent was the general impact that malnutrition had upon morale and interpersonal relations within the confines of the towns. According to Collins 'the women co'dn't get along' throughout these periods of enforced scarcity. Although he made no explicit mention of it, it appears that just as many men generated friction as they sat impotently inside the town. Certainly, there was evident tension between Richard Calloway and the men hungrily eying the last of his cows.[61] This situation was not unique to Boonesborough and throughout the late 1770s settlers in

[57] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC67-68
[58] Indeed, salt was a core part not only of the frontier diet, but the early American diet, something to which salt riots in Virginia attested. See Holton *Forced Founders*, pp. 173-175 and Michael A. McDonnell *The Politics of War: Race, Class, and Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 133-135
[59] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC67-68
[60] ibid
[61] Ibid

towns such as Lexington spent a significant amount of their time exiled from the surrounding wilderness.[62]

In Boonesborough the hand to mouth existence which the eighty newcomers were experiencing only came to an end when they were ordered to proceed to the Falls of the Ohio in order to rendezvous with George R. Clark for his invasion of Illinois.[63] For those who remained, however, the wilderness, and hence the vast majority of the country, remained an impassable proposition. More than just the environment, the wilderness joined the array of forces which stood against the settlers' desire to prosper within the territory. More ominous still, it appeared that the wilderness now even stood against their desire to survive. This apparent situation helped to solidify the idea that the frontier was divided into two broad zones; the environment which they manipulated to facilitate their survival, namely their settlements, and that which the Indians utilized to limit their prosperity, the wilderness.[64] Although a relative population explosion in the early 1780s helped throw control of large areas of the environment into the hands of settlers a wilderness continued to exist, albeit in a reduced capacity, until well after the conclusion of the war.[65] As settlements spread and became more established the wilderness was quite literally forced into retreat, changing the shape of the frontier as it fluctuated across the region. But even as it did so, newer settlements constructed in previously uninhabited areas continued to endure the pattern of wilderness and Indian dominance which defined the entire country throughout the 1770s. In 1786, for instance, the problems faced across all Kentucky in the previous decade were recreated in Jefferson County when the Indians again utilized the wilderness to limit settler control of the environment to the confines of a few fortified townships. Restricted from manipulating the landscape, the settlers of this region 'Collected in forts,' a measure which afforded them protection but also defined a strict physical boundary between their sphere of influence and the outside world. This lack of control was defined not just by an extreme lack of geographic mobility but also by the malnutrition and starvation which such forting tended

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[62] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC68: 'same sort of living was had, the next summer, at Lexington, April 17th 1779, & so on with buffalo meat only, with bread or salt. The corn raised being consumed in 1779–80 – as before, the Summer of 1780 was also passed on Buffalo meat, as before.'

[63] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC68

[64] As well as providing protection against the elements, the settlements offered significant protection against direct assaults. Although the Indians were largely able to limit the settlers to these areas they could not definitively undermine the ability of this group to survive. Settled areas may have been tiny portions of the overall country but the settlers continued to survive even if they failed to flourish. For effectiveness of fortifications in facilitating settler survival in the face of significant adversary and odds see Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 60-70

[65] Perkins *Borderlife*, p. 160

to necessitate.[66] In a very real sense the limit of a fort's stockade drew a line between the unruly wilderness and the settlers' sphere of control. Indeed, throughout the late eighteenth century the frontier tended to be dominated by a wilderness, rather than the wilderness being dominated by those who aspired to settle it.

Settler attitudes towards the wilderness in the trans-Appalachian region grew from pre-existing backcountry and European heritages which had become infused with direct experience of the territory's landscape.[67] These attitudes, ideas, and experiences did not just influence how the settlers conceptualised the wilderness, but also how they came to conceptualise the wider world around them. The wilderness may have been an idea, but it was a potent one which had significant implications for the community's world view imposing, as it did, particular divisions within the larger group. Although it is tempting to divide the settlers' world along lines suggested by concepts such as ethnicity and gender, to do so would neglect the specific conditions which helped to shape early frontier society across the trans-Appalachian region. Instead, one of the principle lines of separation within the community was forged not by these existing divisions – although they continued to play a role – but by the separation of movement which the wilderness imposed upon the entire community.[68]

Particularly in the years before 1782, the presence of a domineering wilderness divided the community into two broad groups which crossed or blurred traditional social divisions such as class, ethnicity and even gender. The new divisions imposed by the environment instead concerned those who moved through the wilderness with some regularity or confidence, and those who were largely confined to the internalised world of artificial settlements. In real terms the settlers of the frontier initially controlled very limited tracts of land in the western country and even those over which they could claim dominance were not immune to sudden Indian incursions.[69] Abandoned settlements, farmsteads, and even townships attested to the ability of the Indians to reclaim once settled ground for the wilderness, particularly during the evacuation of Kentucky in 1777.[70] This lack of environmental control had an important impact upon the developing culture of the region's settlers who responded by dividing themselves into those who attempted to engage with the

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[66] 'Letter from Alexander Bullitt, County Lieutenant, to the Governor of Virginia, May 16th 1787' Bullitt Family Papers A/B937c 409, Filson Historical Society. See also 'Letter from John May to Samuel Beall, March 15th, 1780' Beall-Booth Family Papers A/B365, Filson Historical Society, and Finley and Strickland (ed.) *Autobiography of Reverend James B. Finley*, pp. 69-70

[67] Merrell *Into the American Woods*, pp. 22-24

[68] For the continued significance of race within Kentucky see Marion B. Lucas *A History of Blacks in Kentucky from Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891* (1992; reprint, Frankfort: The Kentucky Historical Society, 2003).

[69] John D. Shane 'Interview with George Trumbo' Draper Manuscripts 12CC113

[70] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' p. 44

wilderness and those who restricted themselves to the Euro-American micro environments they constructed. Following the 1770s, however, the growth of the frontier population facilitated a massive expansion of settled territories but even as new lands were settled, vast portions of the country remained dominated by wilderness. Kentucky may have been undergoing a process which would see it transformed from a frontier into a country *with* a frontier, but its less settled areas continued to face the same challenges the entire region had faced only a few years earlier. As such, the frontier regions would continue to see the population divided by its interaction with the wilderness until, at least, the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.[71]

The division of settlers between those who were able to operate in the wilderness and those who were restricted to the settlements affected frontier settler society to its core as it created vast differences in the level of freedom, at least with regards to movement, enjoyed by these groups. For some, the larger environment represented a space of unqualified opportunity whilst it conversely limited much larger swathes of the overall population. In particular, women and children living on the frontier often found themselves marooned within the confines of their family home or picketed township. Mrs Arnold lamented to John Shane that there were 'many rich places to see, and women couldn't get out to see them.' Such was their lack of exposure to the outside world that when a number of buffalo approached Arnold's settlement they caused quite a stir among many of the town's women who, accordingly, left the safety of the stockade in order investigate these curious creatures. Buffalo were not a particularly rare sight in the wilderness but to these women they were a rare treat, contact with a larger world to which they were normally denied.[72]

Although it would be easy to focus only upon gender when considering such scenarios it should be recognised that many men also found themselves victims of limited geographic mobility and, though most were not made to stay within a fort by a spouse, they nonetheless

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[71] For the expansion of Kentucky's population in the early 1780s see Greene and Harrington *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790*, p. 192. According to Greene and Harrington's research, the population of Kentucky appears to have expanded rapidly following 1782 but it should be noted that their sources hardly agree upon the extent of the country's population increase. For instance, Greene and Harrington's sources suggest a consistent number of arms bearing men in the country in 1781 and 1782 –around 1,000 in total – but they also suggest that the number of arms bearing men was as high as 3,000 in 1780. There seems little reason to suggest a massive exodus from the country between 1780 and 1781 so it thus appears that no small amount of conflict exists between their different sources. Beginning in 1782, however, most sources appear to agree the country's population rose rapidly even if the extent of that rise was not agreed upon. Tennessee appears to have enjoyed a similar, though less pronounced, rise in its population during the 1780s, climbing from an estimated 7,700 persons in 1776 to around 25-30,000 persons by 1789. See Green and Harrington *American Population*, pp. 193-194

[72] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. John Arnold' Draper Manuscripts 11CC241. For common nature of buffalo in wilderness see Isaac Hite and Virginius C. Hall (ed.) 'Journal of Isaac Hite, 1773' *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, Vol. 12 (1954): 263-281, pp. 276-281

found themselves equally limited by the realities of the world outside of the stockade. Ralph Matson 'feared to venture out and was slow on foot,' though his apparent short comings were somewhat made up for by his wife who was said to be 'a better soldier than himself.'[73] Billy Keaton probably regretted his decision to visit the frontier settlement of Baker's Station in 1790 when an Indian raid left a man named Dickinson scalped, but still alive, outside of the tiny township. Unfortunately for Dickinson his fellow settlers were too afraid to venture outside of their fort to retrieve their stricken comrade. Instead they sat awake, imprisoned by the same walls which offered them protection, listening to the wounded man 'groaning' his way towards an agonisingly slow death. Those at Baker's Station that night were restrained from helping Dickinson by neither gender nor age. For his part, Billy Keaton spent most of that evening restricted to an even smaller geographic area, 'under the bed.' It should always be remembered that not every man carried a weapon or cared to use one.[74]

Of course neither Keaton nor his fellows were permanently restricted to Baker's Station but this episode does illustrate how restricted the movements of even those who did travel through the wilderness could become. The division between those restricted to the settlements and those who engaged with the outside world on a regular or semi-regular basis was never set in stone and, upon occasion, it could become particularly fluid. Even experienced woodsmen could find themselves restricted to a settlement if the circumstances demanded it, though such individuals tended to reserve the ability – or at least the determination – to re-enter the wilderness at a later date. Those who were restricted to the settlement as a rule, however, tended to see very little flexibility in their daily existence unless a significant change occurred within the local environment. For many settlers, then, the wilderness simply represented an area into which they could not normally venture and, as such, the full extent of their world came to be represented by the limits imposed upon them by a palisade or the edge of one's farm. John Graves would remember with appreciation the 'good lock' which separated his family from the outside world as soon as darkness descended upon his home: 'We shut our door early & in the morning it was sunup before we opened it.'[75]

Beyond these self imposed bounds the vast territory which most settlers had come to inhabit remained unobtainable; moreover, it remained dangerous and even those with military experience could find the vast expanses difficult to deal with. Captain Boyd led a militia company into the wilderness only to have his overreaction to a wolf call lead to much taunting

[73] John D. Shane 'Interview with Joshua McQueen' Draper Manuscripts 13CC115-129
[74] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 68, John D. Shane 'Interview with James Wade' Draper Manuscripts 12CC17, John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Crouch' Draper Manuscripts 12CC225-229
[75] John D. Shane 'Interview with Colonel John Graves' Draper Manuscripts 11CC121-125, 158

from his peers; 'Had there been a hundred Indians I couldn't have helped laughing,' Benjamin Stites would later recall. Not only had Boyd returned to the militia's camp in an obvious panic, but he had run straight for the group's fire 'where [the Indians] would have been sure to see him best to shoot him.' After a short time 'things had gotten a little composed' and a wolf 'let out let out a piteous howl.' Apparently the sound was so 'piteous' that Boyd was forced to offer 'a full treat all round,' if his companions agreed that they 'would say nothing about it' when they returned to the settlements. Stites, who would later report this incident to Shane (apparently the 'treat' had not been large enough to warrant four decades of silence), certainly expressed mirth and humour at this incident but Boyd's reaction is telling of something far more fundamental.[76]

Neither gender nor age, nor sometimes even experience, necessarily fortified a person against the perceived hazards of the outside world. Fear was a common sensation felt by many of those who found themselves out-with the protection of a township which sheer bravado or ignorance often obscured. Daniel Trabue offered an unusual level of candour in his narrative when he admitted that during a journey through the wilderness in 1778 the presence of Indians had made him 'feel chikinhearted [sic].' Trabue's account is telling as his continued pride required that his fear be thoroughly internalised to avoid the type of mocking which Captain Boyd was later subjected to.[77] The expression of fear may have been somewhat restrained by admonitions of cowardice but that did not stop many from openly displaying the apprehensions they felt. Caught in the wilderness, a member of a party whom Trabue and several fellows went to retrieve made the point explicit when he heard their approach and mistook them for Indians. 'O lord! O lord!' the scared man was said to have cried; one can only speculate that Trabue had at least some sympathy for what the man was feeling.[78]

Much has been made within the historiography regarding the role of cowardice in backcountry communities and there is certainly evidence within the sources to suggest that contemporaries levelled this charge at one another with some regularity.[79] However, there is a remarkable level of inconsistency with which such charges were made that must be addressed.[80] Why was Captain Boyd mocked for his show of fear, whilst Samuel Treble

[76] John D. Shane 'Interview with Benjamin Stites' Draper Manuscripts 13CC56-57
[77] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' p. 46-47
[78] Ibid, p. 54
[79] For the significance of cowardice in the backcountry see Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 32-33, and Perkins *Borderlife*, pp. 137-138. See also Ryan L. Dearinger 'Violence, Masculinity, Image and Reality on the Antebellum Frontier' *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 100 (2004): 26-55 and Gorn 'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch,' pp. 18-43
[80] It is quite remarkable how few of Shane's interviewees refer to their fellows as cowards even when they are described as frightened or scared. For examples see John D. Shane 'Interview with Nathaniel

continued to respect Michael Stoner for showing a similar emotion? Both men had, after all, over reacted to the thought of an Indian attack in the wilderness but their treatment by contemporaries was markedly different. The dividing line, it appears, rested not with the emotion but the reaction. Fear was likely a universal experience on the frontier even where it was not expressed in a particularly open manner. It is highly unlikely that the entire population was scared all of the time, but most individuals probably experienced fear for at least some of the time. To be sure, there *is* a certain level of assumption made in such a statement but an even greater degree of assumption would be made if one were to state or assume that the settlers were not affected by fear or other comparable emotions during the war. The role played by emotion in history is a problematic subject indeed but assuming an absence or immunity to fear is just as biased as arguing for its presence.[81] It should always be remembered that one did not need to break down into floods of tears to show evidence of fear in the historic record. Indeed, throughout the region settlers demonstrated with their feet that they feared particular areas of the country when they abandoned those regions to which they had previously staked their future prosperity and happiness. Isaac Hite would lament in a letter to his father that business on the frontier in 1783 was simply impossible; even if '[we] was not afraid of the Indians' the surveyors had already fled the area.[82] This, however, raises only another question. If fear of particular areas or circumstances was acceptable, why did particular expressions of that emotion continue to warrant communal chastisement?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to frame it within an appropriate context. When the settlers arrived in the Kentucky country in the 1770s they found themselves in a contested environment, a wilderness which continued to push back against their attempts to measure, divide and control it. The circumstances in which the settlers found themselves involved numerous shared experiences but cumulatively their frontier experience was a shared ordeal, a series of difficulties which the community had to face together. Although they would prove ultimately successful in their struggle, the outcome of the war was never sure and, particularly in the 1770s, there were numerous occasions where a continued settler presence appeared to be a tenuous possibility. As a whole the community reacted to the series of crises which it faced, evacuating areas en masse sometimes when the presence of Indians was only a possibility. As settler control over the environment fluctuated so too did their resolve to occupy particular portions of the land and at both the communal

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Hart' Draper Manuscripts 17CC189-213, and John D. Shane 'Captain Joseph F. Taylor' Draper Manuscripts 16CC265-269.

[81] For a more complete discussion on the role played by emotion during this time see Chapter Five.

[82] 'Letter from Isaac Hite to Colonel Abraham Hite, April 16th, 1783' Manuscripts Miscellaneous Collection C/H, Filson Historical Society

and individual level the culture of fear which their adversaries fostered began to take a significant toll. As a group, the settlers reacted to fear and terror but as individuals those who reacted disproportionately compared to the larger community were made to suffer for their behaviour.[83] It was not that the larger group did not recognise the validity of fear, only that they failed to recognise that a given person had the right to show excessive fear when the entire community was suffering through the same ordeal. These were, after all, 'very scary times.'[84]

In the case of Samuel Treble, Michael Stoner's fear was not misplaced as Treble's own ignorance had not only caused the alarm but potentially alerted any nearby raiding parties to the pair's presence. Crucially, Stoner had not run from his companion but had instead taken up a position to fight whilst calling out the name of the younger man in order to establish whether he required assistance.[85] In contrast, Captain Boyd had placed his entire party in danger by leading any potential pursuers directly to their location whilst dangerously exposing himself – and his lack of woodland knowledge – by placing his silhouette in front the group's campfire.[86] According to Nathaniel Hart 'The women could read the character of a man with invariable certainty. If he lacked courage they seemed to be able to discover it at a glance. And if a man was found to be a coward, he stood a poor chance to get his washing, mending or anything done.'[87] This interesting assessment of cowardice is, again, not a statement relating to fear but rather the excessive expression of it. All men on the frontier were expected to show a reasonable ability to take part in the group's shared ordeal, not run from it. This expectation did not demand a superfluous show of bravery but rather a willingness to defend the larger community and, quite literally, to hold the wilderness back from the settlement's edge. Again, it is important that gender lines are not drawn too distinctly as women, too, were expected to do their part to keep the outside world firmly out of the towns. The adoption of male clothing during sieges, the running of bullets, and so on, all aided the community in overcoming the dangers which they shared.[88] Some women reportedly took this role further than many men. Just prior to the capture of her settlement in 1780, Mrs. Riddle, for instance, joined her fort's male protectors at the palisade 'with her gun,' ready to fight whilst, on another occasion, two women 'scalded an Indian to death' during a siege upon their

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[83] *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Nicolson), April 24th, 1779, p. 3
[84] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 11CC276-279
[85] John D. Shane 'Interview with Samuel Treble' Draper Manuscripts 12CC43-44
[86] John D. Shane 'Interview with Benjamin Stites' Draper Manuscripts 13CC56-57
[87] John D. Shane 'Interview with Nathaniel Hart' Draper Manuscripts 17CC189-213
[88] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 68-69

settlement.[89] They later reported to all who asked about this incident that their victim had 'made a dreadful howling,' during his slow death.[90]

Contrary to being an anathema, fear was a necessary component of settler society, particularly where the wilderness was concerned. An absence of fear often led to disaster outside of the settlements with unprepared or cocksure parties and individuals, such as John Shelp, frequently falling victim to the dangers of the region.[91] Like Michael Stoner, a core group of hunters and pioneers were able to draw upon a growing fund of cultural experience that allowed them to begin operating outside of the restrictions which the war was imposing upon the larger community. Individuals such as Shelp may have, through sheer force of will, overcome these same barriers but a lack of prudence, experience, and knowledge was often their undoing. Will power alone, it appears, was a poor substitute for caution and the relevant set of woodland skills.[92] Practical ability was not a necessary prerequisite to survive in the wilderness but it did increase one's chances by an immeasurable degree and those who lacked this ability generally compensated in one of two ways. The first option was to simply ignore these dangers, as John Shelp did, with the hope that no ill fortune would follow. In so doing such individuals refused to allow the wilderness to dictate the expanse of their daily world but, lacking woodland skills, their level of success tended to be limited by happenchance. This was a comparatively rare approach as the disasters which befell a few tended to ward off larger numbers from trusting their lives to fate.[93] The second solution was to avoid the wilderness wherever possible, typically by remaining within the bounds of one's settlement whilst employing those with the desired skills in bush craft to carry out one's business. On the

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[89] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 11CC276-279

[90] John D. Shane 'Interview with ---- Wymore' Draper Manuscripts 11CC128-132, 159

[91] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' p. 51 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC103

[92] Major Robert Rogers demonstrated both with the formation of his Rangers in the Seven Years War and his subsequent writings that a solid understanding of the environment in which one operated vastly increased not only one's chances of survival but their chances of prospering. When describing Virginia in his *Concise Account of North America*, for example, Rogers showed not only a deep understanding of the topographic world he inhabited but even an awareness of how the Indians understood this land. Rogers' understanding of his environment encompassed the topographical, geographic and cultural dimensions, a feat far beyond most backcountry inhabitants who instead drew upon only a fraction of this potential knowledge base. Even this fraction, however, could vastly increase their chances of survival. Robert Rogers *A Concise Account of North America Containing a Description of Several British Colonies on that Continent, Including the Islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, &c. as to their Situation, Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, Rise, Government, Religion, Present Boundaries, and the Number of Inhabitants Supposed to be in Each. Also of the Interior, or Westerly Parts of the Country, Upon the Rivers St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, Christino, and Great Lakes to which is Subjoined, an Account of the Several Nations and Tribes of Indians Residing in those Parts, as to their Customs, Manners, Government, Numbers, &c. Containing Many Useful and Entertaining Facts, Never Before Treated of* (London: J. Millan, 1766), pp. 117-122, 151-204

[93] Major Herman Bowman made this point explicit to John Shane when he reflected on the best values held by Joe Stucker: 'distinct bravery and eternal vigilance.' John D. Shane 'Interview with Major Herman Bowman' Draper Manuscripts 13CC170-174

occasions where wilderness travel was deemed absolutely necessary, such individuals tended to travel in large groups often drawing upon the skills of one or two experienced persons to facilitate their survival.[94] This solution was probably the most common approach as it tended to encompass not only a significant proportion of the male population, but most women and children also. In addition to these two principle options the settlers could, of course, attempt to learn the wilderness skill set which would allow them to engage directly with the outside world, but this approach was a long term solution only. Samuel Treble had initiated this process and though he may have alarmed Stoner by recklessly firing his weapon he evidently learned from his mistake.[95]

Beyond these approaches, a final technique was utilized by a small number of settlers in their attempt to overcome the barriers thrown up by the wilderness. Quite aside from being completely impractical and likely to provide nothing but a false sense of security, the use of supernatural tactics, spells, omens, and charms underlines how desperate some settlers were to express their agency over the environment. Rather than simply ignoring the danger, this attempt at environmental manipulation recognised the difficulties that the wilderness imposed upon the larger community by appearing to offer them some form of power over it. Perhaps most importantly, this new source of imagined power circumvented the necessity of having to undergo the lengthy and dangerous process of acclimating one's self to the outside world. Some settlers literally sought to harness the imagined power of the supernatural world in order to turn it upon the unruly wilderness. More than a belief in an inexplicable powerbase, drawing upon the supernatural allowed some settlers the luxury of believing that they could fight fire with metaphysical fire.[96] An undercurrent throughout the trans-Atlantic and Native American worlds, superstitions represent something of an attempt to manipulate conditions that were generally beyond the control of the individual.[97] In the case of the trans-Appalachian west, many members of the community turned to the supernatural in order to combat the realities of a world over which they had little practical influence.

Of these phenomena the one most commonly given significance was the process of dreaming and its apparent connection to the workings of the world. Awakening one morning from a particularly potent nightmare, David Hunter, for instance, quickly endeavoured to leave

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[94] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 12th, 1787, p. 1, May 3rd, 1788, p. 1, May 17th, 1788, p. 1

[95] John D. Shane 'Interview with Samuel Treble' Draper Manuscripts 12CC43-44

[96] Judge Hall *Letters from the West; Containing Sketches of Scenery, Manners, and Customs; and Anecdotes Connected with the First Settlements of the Western Sections of the United States* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), pp. 326-345

[97] Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark 'Introduction' in Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (eds.) *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials* (Philadelphia: University Press of Philadelphia, 2002), pp. vii-x

the fort in which he had been lodged. When he was asked why he made such haste to leave he replied that 'he had a dream and he thought something bad was going to happen, either to him or to the station; and if there was, he would rather it be to him, than to so many people... inside an hour was killed.'[98] Dreams could have a potent impact upon particular settlers, something which Mr. Williams would demonstrate when he heard that his friend, Mr. White, had had nightmare concerning him. The dream certainly unsettled White who found its omens and clarity such that he was able to convince Williams not to work his fields that particular day. Unlike the case of David Hunter, the validity of White's dream was never verified to the community as Williams never left the settlement to suffer his predicted misfortune.[99] Instead Williams sat at home, a living testament to the power afforded to dreams.[100] Reacting to dreams gave some settlers the illusion of control over both their circumstances and environment but drawing upon the supernatural was not limited to heeding the omens revealed in the non-waking world. Indeed, a spectrum of proactive measures could also be undertaken by settlers in the hope of affecting their individual and group circumstances for the better. 'Charms and incantations were in use for the cure of many diseases,' Joseph Doddridge would note, such as the use of 'the blood of a black cat,' to cure St. Anthony's Fire, an infection which resulted in inflammations appearing upon the face and limbs. According to Doddridge, 'there was scarcely a black cat to be seen whose ears and tail had not been frequently

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[98] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Morrison' Draper Manuscripts 11CC150-154

[99] John D. Shane 'Interview with Caleb Williams' Draper Manuscripts 11CC191

[100] The significance of dreams among the settlers appears, in many ways, to mirror their significance among Native American groups. For long term Indian captive, John Tanner, the power of dreams could not be ignored. Indeed, Tanner – who was captured as a child and did not return to the settlers until middle age – placed much significance, along with his Indian companions, in the world of dreams. It is important, however, to look to the European experience of dreams and fantasy rather than necessarily looking to construct a cultural bridge that may not have existed. Dreams are experienced by people in every culture and, often, given significance through their apparent vividness and mystique. Indeed, Dream Books became a common feature in early modern Europe and, according to Maureen Perkins, 'were as old as publishing itself.' It thus seems unlikely that the power of dreams on the frontier was evidence of a cultural transfer between the Indians and settlers. That said the power of dreams among both is an interesting example of accidental cultural convergence which is to say, two separate cultures developing similar, parallel concepts through independent experiences. The power of dreams among settlers and Indians may not have stemmed from a common idea or experience but they do, nonetheless, highlight ideas and beliefs common to both groups. See Maureen Perkins 'The Meaning of Dream Books' *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 48 (1999): 102-113, Sue Wiseman, Katherine Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), Diana de Armas Wilson 'Certvantes and the Night Visitors: Dream Work in the Cave of Montesinos' in Ruth Anthony El Saffar and Diana de Armas Wilson (eds.) *Quixotic Desire: Psychoanalytic Perspective on Cervantes* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 62, Peter Burke *Varieties in Cultural History* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 30-42 and Pierro Camporesi *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, Trans. David Gentilcore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). See also Tanner and James (ed.) *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, pp. 52, 72-75, 274-275

cropped, for a contribution of blood.'[101] Even the threat posed by the Indians in the wilderness could, some believed, be negated by powerful charms and spells. When Daniel Trabue travelled through the wilderness with an 'Old Dutchman' named Mr. Lail he was exposed to a world of supernatural powers when his companion, who believed 'he was endowed with such power, [that] he could spell their guns and Do many [other] things,' used his magic in an attempt to make the woodlands safe for their passage. When Mr. Lail panicked following the accidental discharge of his weapon, however, Trabue quickly concluded that the aged German's power resided only in his mind.[102]

Signs and omens, spells and prayer often allowed the settlers to metaphysically cross the line that separated them from the wilderness. Lacking direct agency with their environment such individuals saw portents and indications in a number of unusual places that connected them to the vast spaces which existed outside of the settlements.[103] A belief in the supernatural certainly appears to have given some settlers a belief in their own ability to interact with the world outside of the settlements, but this group was in the minority. For the most part, the activities in which these individuals engaged or believed drew only inconsistent and sporadic support from the community who often vacillated between 'faithless' patronage and complete indifference.[104] What they do demonstrate was the desire of some settlers to exercise a degree of agency in a world which largely denied them the opportunity. For those possessing the necessary knowledge to survive and prosper in the wilderness such needs were largely absent, but a large portion of the settler population could certainly understand the desire to engage with the outside world if not the means through which some attempted to attain this end.

For many, then, isolation and limited geographic mobility were merely facts of life. Even for those able to operate in the wilderness unfettered freedom remained a largely unobtainable goal with the vast majority of settlers forced to spend at least some time within the confines of a settlement during the late 1770s and early 1780s. This shared experience crossed traditional barriers, uniting men and women, different ethnicities and age groups, and even different races. When the inhabitants of Boonesborough found themselves completely cut off from the outside world in 1778, for instance, it was a slave named London who, along

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[101] Joseph Doddridge *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783, Inclusive, Together with a Review of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country* (1824; reprinted, Pittsburgh: John S. Ritenour and William T. Lindsey, 1912), p. 120

[102] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 48-49

[103] John D. Shane 'Interview with James McConnell' Draper Manuscripts 11 CC 146-147 and John D. Shane 'Interview with a Woman in Cincinnati' Draper Manuscripts 13CC9-18

[104] John D. Shane 'Interview with Joseph Ficklin' Draper Manuscripts 16CC267 and Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 48-49

with David Brundin, was killed whilst trying to defend his home from the Indians. That London died clutching a Kentucky rifle is certainly symbolic.[105] Although the shared experience of the frontier did little in real terms to challenge the institution of slavery, the experiences of war and the struggle against the wilderness nevertheless created a series of ordeals shared by master and servant.[106] When 'Mrs. Calloway's old black woman' returned to Boonesborough for a reunion and celebration some years following the conclusion of the frontier war, she was clearly as moved by the memories of that time as any white settler. Upon her arrival 'she cried...[because] It bro't all the old Indian trouble, and the death of her master, so fresh to her mind.'[107]

The impact of the wilderness, and the war which it supported, was indiscriminate.[108] Men and women, master and slave all experienced periods when the outside world was denied to them. When settlements were attacked all within them faced the same danger and, for the most part, the community united in the face of a common set of obstacles.[109] To be sure, traditional divisions remained but the shared experience of the frontier – the war and the wilderness – often served to bridge social divisions and blur hierarchal distinctions. During the late 1770s and early 1780s, when the wilderness dominated the Kentucky country, the shared experience of the settlements came into being through the juxtaposition of two very different environments; the world the settlers found, and the world which they built. In both of these zones existing ideas and world views had to be adjusted and modified in order to accommodate the specific conditions they met on the frontier. Dividing the world into two broad zones was the first step in accomplishing this, whilst the easing of traditional boundaries, such as ethnic distinctions, followed thereafter. That many of the changes which occurred were not deeper or more permanent does not reduce their significance. Rather, it

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[105] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC75. See also the case of Willis Green's slave, John D. Shane 'Interview with David Deron' Draper Manuscripts 12CC243. This case is also a neat mirror of the experiences of Hanna Dunstan, the Puritan captive, over a century before. See Cotton Mather 'A Narrative of Hannah Dunstan's Notable Deliverance from Captivity' in Alden T. Vaughn and Edward W. Clark (eds.) *Puritans among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676-1724* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 159-164

[106] See accounts of the slave, Monk Estill: John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC109, Joseph Proctor 'Estill's Defeat' in Charles Cist (ed.) *Cincinnati Miscellany or Antiquities of the West and Pioneer History and General and Local Statistics Compiled from the Western General Advertiser, From October 1st 1844 to April 1st 1845: Volume One* (Cincinnati: Caleb Clark, 1845), pp. 3-4, and Z.F Smith *The History of Kentucky: From its Earliest Discovery and Settlement to the Present Date, Embracing its Prehistoric and Aboriginal Periods; Its Pioneer Life and Experiences; Its Political and Social, and Industrial Progress; Its Educational and Religious Developments; Its Military Events and Achievements, and Biographic Mentions of its Historic Characters* (Louisville: The Prentice Press, 1895), pp. 188-189

[107] John D. Shane 'Interview with Richard French' Draper Manuscripts 12CC205

[108] Lucas *A History of Blacks in Kentucky*, pp. xii-xiii

[109] See the case of Derry, Daniel Boone's enslaved wilderness companion in the nineteenth century, Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 119-128

was the ability of the settlers' society to adapt to the specific conditions met upon the frontier that is important.[110]

Closure

Perhaps no other event underlines the pervasive nature of the environment on the frontier as well as the winter which enveloped the end of 1779 and the first months of 1780. Although the lifestyle of the hunter appealed to many settlers, the vast majority were drawn to the backcountry not by the promise of game but the promise of land. Upon their arrival, however, the land they sought was a largely inaccessible wilderness and the only source of food they could readily harness dwelled within that same environment, a region which lay, tantalisingly, within the sight of every settled locale. It was an odd paradox to be so reliant on that which denied one their desired prosperity but it was the situation the settlers found. As the war with the Indians worsened following Cornstalk's murder, however, even the readily accessible source of food which lay just beyond the palisade became difficult to obtain; the hunter's crown was stripped by circumstance. Starvation and malnutrition plagued the backcountry throughout the late 1770s but in 1779 the arrival of a winter which, through sheer cold, killed much of the settlers' remaining stock must have appeared to be a cruel joke to the more superstitious among the group. 'Go through the cane and see cattle laying,' William Clinkenbeard would remember, 'with their heads to their side, as if they were asleep; just literally froze to death.'[111] Even in the wilderness the food supply began to disappear and even though the Indians failed to appear that winter in sufficient numbers to hold the settlers within their fortifications they nevertheless found only want and further hardship throughout the landscape; 'A great country for turkeys, and they had like to have starved to death; a heap! a heap! of them died.' What stock did not freeze the settlers were forced to consume and for

[110] The frontier experience described in this chapter would benefit from being compared to Frederick Jackson Turner's (in)famous description of 'American development.' Although it is being argued in this work that experiences distinct to the frontier informed backcountry society it is not being argued that this experience became the principle guiding force behind the development of the United States. That said, the experiences of the community who lived upon the frontier were often fundamentally informative, if not necessarily enduring, through time. In particular, the developing attitude towards the Indians as a race throughout the eighteenth century (particularly the period being studied here) came to directly inform relations between the antebellum United States and the remaining eastern Indian tribes. Turner's thesis is a starting point for discussion rather than a conclusion and though this thesis is not particularly bound by Turner's basic thesis it does assimilate into it the concept of a frontier experience – if not a general one that can be applied to all such contexts – as a catalyst for social change. See Frederick Jackson Turner 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History' in Frederick Jackson Turner *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1953), pp. 1-38

[111] John D Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC60

the first time since the Kentucky country had been settled the environment, without aid, was able to bring the new immigrant population to its knees.[112]

The wilderness was certainly a force to be reckoned with and, although it is tempting to look to Thoreau to describe the potential magnificence of such environments it is necessary to instead look to the experiences of those who dwelled within. When, for instance, the winter of 1779 and 1780 reached its nadir, the lack of food was such that there was a marked depression in the number of births and pregnancies. When, finally, food began to reappear in sufficient volumes it appears, to use the words of one settler, that 'the women began to breed pretty fast,' giving birth to a bevy of children '10 or 12 months after the corn of 1780 came in.'[113] Still, the environment presented its challenges. The number of pregnancies may have soared following the harvest, but this reality demanded the services of skilled midwives and, for the people of Lexington, this meant recruiting 'the celebrated Mrs. Harper.' Unfortunately, Harper did not live in Lexington and, as such, she was required to make the dangerous journey through the wilderness whenever her particular skills were required. More than a simple journey through the woods, 'about 30 armed men were frequently dispatched,' to act as her personal body guard during such occasions, an excessive number which illustrates two things.[114] First, it reflects the perceived danger of the wilderness and, secondly, it reflects the reduced mobility many settlers – even those with invaluable skill sets – faced upon the frontier. Even men who were experienced in the wilderness preferred to travel in groups, micro communities forged by necessity and prudence. As discussed in chapter two, psychological warfare was an important part of the battle for the trans-Appalachian region and one of its greatest net results was in physically and mentally separating the settlers from the wider world they inhabited. Men, women and children all suffered reduced mobility and freedom throughout the period of the war and in many cases their experiences came to be defined not by their relationship with the land which they sought to plough, but their relationship to the land to which they were denied access.

This was a common experience to all; even male hunters proficient in wilderness survival experienced periods when the limit of their world was defined not by their ambition but the narrow walls of a communal fort. Regardless of age, gender, ethnicity or race, such was the communal experience and such was the foundation upon which a common identity exerted itself. Certainly, the settlers did not leave behind their pre-existing prejudices when they arrived in the west, but the common experience created by the wilderness and its

[112] Ibid
[113] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC68
[114] Ibid

masterful exploitation by the Indians served to alter some of those expectations and ideas. Settlers may have readily identified different accents and ethnicities among themselves, but they did so within a broad context of cooperation against a common enemy – the Indians – and a common obstacle – the wilderness. Otherness was occasionally defined by internal divisions but, for the most part, the Indians and the environment which they exploited created the meta-Other against which their larger identity was forged. Daniel Trabue may have attempted to record Mr. Lail's German accent in his own inimitable manner – 'Some ting has gone rong. We must not keep [to] De road' – but the fact of the matter is that he and Lail were working together for a common purpose, camping in the wilderness for mutual safety and companionship.[115] Similarly, Jospeh Doddridge, born of English descent on both his maternal and paternal sides learned incantations and spells in German.[116] Such cases are hardly anomalous – the record is defined by common experience – and though difference is often accepted and sometimes commented upon, only seldom did it define relationships.

Put simply, settlers could arrive on the frontier with whatever preconceived notions they happened to carry, but the necessities of direct experience required them to adapt those ideas to the specific circumstances which greeted them. Women would often take on roles or carry out tasks normally reserved for men, whilst individuals of Germanic descent – such as Mr. Lail and Michael Stoner – travelled, hunted and fought alongside those of whose heritage was that of the French Huguenot – such as Daniel Trabue – or those whose heritage belonged to the Irish, Scots, English, Scots-Irish, Welsh and even the odd Spaniard or Métis.[117] Slaves certainly continued to carry out the subservient role enforced upon them by their masters, but when circumstances demanded it, they struggled alongside their white companions not as servants but as comrades in arms, often earning their freedom and the – often begrudging – admiration of their former owners and fellow settlers in the process.[118] The communal experience which the landscape helped to forge was no incidental matter, but something that would underline the experience of the settlers in the years ahead as they turned their eyes north of the Ohio River. By the late 1770s the settlers had carried out only a very limited number of retaliatory campaigns in the Indians' territory but as this decade drew to a close the community as a whole was ready to strike back against their adversaries. As chapter four will demonstrate, individual vendettas against the Indians were now writ large across the

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[115] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 48-49

[116] Doddridge *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, pp. 120, 243-245

[117] John D. Shane 'Interview with Patrick Scott' Draper Manuscripts 11CC6. For the converted Indian living in Boonesborough see Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 131

[118] John D. Shane 'Interview with David Deron' Draper Manuscripts 12CC243, John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC109, and Proctor 'Estill's Defeat,' pp. 3-4

community and though retaliatory strikes would ultimately serve only to escalate the conflict, they represented a method through which the community could once again take control of its destiny.

Chapter Four

Why the Settlers Fought

Around the middle of June, 1778, Andrew Johnson led the first settler counteroffensive out of the Kentucky country against the Indians of Ohio.[1] On the surface the actions of Johnson and his four companions require almost no analysis coming, as they did, after more than three years of escalating violence. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that neither Johnson nor his companions were soldiers or bounty hunters and, like most settlers, they aspired to farm not to fight, and to raise families rather than armies. What, then, drove them to attack the Indians? Certainly, their vested interests required security but that does not necessarily translate into a need to undertake a long, dangerous journey through the wilderness in order to confront a numerically superior enemy in the heart of their territory. Neither did a lack of support from the Revolutionary government nor a lack of any feasible material gain stop Johnson and his party from making the dangerous trip.[2] Indeed, the risks attached to Johnson's raid were massive, particularly as gathering in communal forts had proven to be a most effective method of countering Indian attacks. Of course property and lives had been lost, but the community had endured and the Indians had suffered greatly, often disproportionately so, for their assaults south of the Ohio.[3] In real terms, Johnson's force was simply too small to affect any major victory or advancement for the settlers. Moreover, their time in the wilderness promised only hardship and danger. Yet, they carried out their campaign nonetheless. The question this episode raises, then, is one that appears ostensibly simple but is in fact far more complex; why did the settlers fight?

This issue was touched upon in chapter one where it was demonstrated that the desire for revenge could stimulate small parties – like Johnson's – to engage those whom they identified as their enemy. By the late 1770s and early 1780s, however, the situation in Kentucky and across the trans-Appalachian west had developed a stage further. For most of those who took part in the Battle of Point Pleasant it was the idea of conflict – imagined atrocities and potential dangers – rather than direct experience that drove them to fight. Prior to this battle the war had been carried out by small bands of settlers and Indians motivated by revenge, but the numbers involved in this retribution-driven stage of the conflict were very

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[1] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC77-78

[2] 'Arch Blair, Orders of the Virginia Council' Draper Manuscripts 1SS43 and 'Letter from Patrick Henry to David Shepherd, April 12th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS51

[3] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 70

small indeed. Logan had probably been able to draw upon no more than thirty Mingo warriors whilst the settlers who attacked the Indians, characterised by men such as Michael Cresap and Daniel Greathouse, likely amounted to, perhaps, two or three dozen.[4] Logan's vendetta was certainly a successful campaign but, even then, no more than thirty or forty settlers were killed by his band.[5] When hundreds of settlers and hundreds of Indians gathered at Point Pleasant it was not direct experience or a need to satiate revenge which drove the vast majority of them; it was the imagined horrors already committed upon the frontier. By the 1780s, however, the situation in the west had changed. First, exposure to actual – as opposed to imagined – violence was exponentially greater than it had been during the period prior to the Battle of Point Pleasant. Secondly, unlike 1774, the war for the frontier was, by the late 1770s and early 1780s, demonstrating its long term potential. Rather than measuring contact with violence in terms of weeks and months, the settlers were now measuring it in terms of years and, soon, would do so in decades. The settlers were not just affected by violence, but rather its continuous presence. Moreover, imagined violence was now far more vivid, supplemented as it was by deliberate psychological warfare and communal perceptions of the environment and wilderness. All of these conditions combined and multiplied to create a powerful social force – communal revenge – which drove the settlers to actively engage the Indians, during and *after* the Revolutionary War. Whereas a desire for revenge had driven only small parties directly in 1774, by the end of this decade it was beginning motivate and drive the entire community.

Whatever the political climate of the time, the settlers were being driven by a series of potent, localised forces generated by the community's desire to extract retribution from their enemy. The ways in which these forces acted and the underlying social realities which allowed them to exist are complex affairs and as such this broad issue will be tackled over the course of the following two chapters. Chapter four will explore the *how* of the matter, analyzing how bottom-up retributive forces developed, how they created new opportunities for violence, how the war was able to continue when the American Revolution came to an end, and how, ultimately, the frontier war can only be understood within a context of reciprocal communal revenge. Following contact with a combination of psychological warfare, an aggressive environment, and physical violence the settlers initiated campaigns of their own not merely to secure lands and prosperity, but to secure something far less tangible but no less important to them. Although the drive for land would continue to provide a powerful motivation for the new western inhabitants, it was the desire of the community as whole – not, as was previously

[4] Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24, 'The Certificate of William Huston, Communicated by David Reddick' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 250, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), June 2nd, 1774, p. 2 and *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), October 13th, 1774, p. 2. See also Griffin *American Leviathan*, p. 117 and Holton *Forced Founders*, pp. 33-35

[5] Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24

the case, individuals within it – to secure revenge that drove the war forward. Experiences of psychological and actual violence were multiplied by the ever growing timescale of the war and the increasing participation of the northern Indians, creating a level of perceived brutality which encouraged revenge for the sake of revenge or, more accurately, revenge for the sake of the community.

Chapter five will analyze the social mechanisms which made these processes possible, the *why* of the matter; why was revenge so important to the settlers, why did they pursue it when other, more logical and safer alternatives were open to them? Communal revenge is not an arbitrary term; it speaks of the complex relationships which underpinned settler society, giving murders and deaths a potency which drove this impulse. Together, then, chapters four and five will explore different ideas which create a much larger whole. Where chapter four will analyze the social processes which fuelled the war, chapter five will examine how the settlers' interpersonal world drove that larger system. By 1778, men such as Andrew Johnson were a minority in the trans-Appalachian west, but within a few short years the goals, methods, and ideals of these few would become those of the larger community.

More than a background detail, the issue of why settlers in early American fought has been an important concern for a number of studies and, in general terms, historians have looked to various forces ranging from race, to divergent ethnic origins, the pressures exerted by economic systems, and, of course, movements in the political sphere, in order to explain this phenomenon.[6] As already discussed in this thesis, such ideas tend impose conditions upon large groups without necessarily taking into account the specific bottom-up forces of a given historical context. Nor can it be assumed that the settlers killed simply, as Niall Ferguson has argued with respect to soldiers fighting in the trenches of World War One, because they grew to accept and then enjoy the process of taking lives.[7] Even if such an assertion appears to offer a convenient or even plausible explanation for the actions of the 'Indian haters' of Kentucky and the wider American frontier, such interpretations tend to be constructed upon highly problematic theoretical foundations and assumptions.[8] In the case of Ferguson's conclusion, Sigmund Freud's highly controversial and largely discredited ideas cast a long shadow.[9] Similarly, other highly theoretical explanations, such as Dianne Purkiss's use of

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[6] Holton *Force Founders*, pp. 33-35, Hinderaker and Mancall *At the Edge of Empire*, pp. 157-160 and Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 99

[7] Niall Ferguson *The Pity of War* (London: Allen Lane, 1998), pp. 357-366

[8] For the predominance of Indian hating as a concept see Harper 'Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhutten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence,' p. 621

[9] Freud, for example, famously linked the idea of trauma – which is to say an event or experience which affects the future mental wellbeing of a person – only to sex. This idea, however, was something which the First World War – Ferguson's chosen subject of study – explicitly demonstrated to be false; the

Jacques Lacan's theories to analyse violence during the English Civil War, draw heavily upon ideas that are highly controversial, problematic, or unsound.[10]

More problematic still is the settlers' refusal to act in manner consistent with the type of behaviours ascribed by such theoretical approaches. The act of killing Indians was not an arbitrary one and, though often overlooked, the settlers often avoided opportunities to take aboriginal lives. When the notorious Shawnee war chief, Blue Jacket, was captured by a band of settlers in 1789 it was quickly and, considering his role in the war, logically decided that he should be executed. At this point, however, any fantasy of killing Indians in cold blood was exposed for the fallacy that it was when the numerous men who comprised this band each refused to commit the deed. To be sure, the men wanted retribution in the form of Blue Jacket's body, but the actual act of killing the chief – defenceless as he was – gave all present considerable pause. James Baize, a former prisoner of the Indians, may have slammed the butt of his rifle into Blue Jacket's face, but even he was reluctant to actually kill the Indian in spite of his fellows' support; 'all agreed that he should be killed.'[11] Eventually, an Irishman by the name of Jim Wilson volunteered for the job, cursing as he did so. 'By Jasus,' he griped, 'I'll kill him.' But even then trepidation remained in the air with one member of the party, William Clinkenbeard, drifting away from the larger group in order to avoid having to witness the

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mental wellbeing of the individual can be affected by far more than sexual experience alone. Ferguson notes the problematic nature of Freud's ideas but fails to engage with them. See Ferguson *The Pity of War*, pp. xxxvii, 357-366. For studies demonstrating a link between violence and trauma (as opposed to sex and trauma, see Jones and Wessely *Shell Shock to PTSD*, Lynn R. August and Barbara A. Gianoloa 'Symptoms of War Trauma Induced Psychiatric Disorders: Southeast Asian Refugees and Vietnam Veterans' *International Migration Review*, Vol. 21 (1987): 820-832, Cynthia Gimbel and Alan Booth 'Why Does Military Experience Adversely Affect Marital Relations?' *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 56 (1994): 691-703 and Charles C. Hendrix and Lisa M. Anelli 'Impact of Vietnam War Service on Veterans' Perceptions of Family Life' *Family Relations*, Vol. 42 (1993): 87-92, Julia Dickson-Gómez 'The Sound of Barking Dogs: Violence and Terror among Salvadorian Families in the Postwar' *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, Vol. 16 (2002): 415-438 and Robert S. Laufer, M.S Gallops and Ellen Frey-Wouters 'War Stress and Trauma: The Vietnam Experience' *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*, Vol. 25 (1984): 65-88. For Freud's view of sexual trauma see Sigmund Freud '"Wild" Psycho-Analysis: Recommendations to Physicians Practicing' in Peter Gay (ed.) *The Freud Reader* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1995), pp. 352-353 and Elaine Westerlund 'Freud on Sexual Trauma: An Historical Review of Seduction and Betrayal' *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, Vol. 10 (1986): 297-310.

[10] Diane Purkiss *Literature, Gender, and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 1-19. For Purkiss's use of Freudian and (particularly) Lacanian theory see See Purkiss *Literature, Gender, and Politics*, p. 108. See also pp. 41, 108-148. For the (many) specific problems surrounding Lacan, such as his (mis)use of mathematics and science to justify his theories see Alan D. Sokal and Jean Bricmont *Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals' Abuse of Science* (New York: Picador, 1999), pp. 18-37. For Alan Sokal's very public humiliation of the journal *Social Text* as a way of demonstrating the shortcomings of these theoretical approaches see The Editors of Lingua Franca (eds.) *The Sokal Hoax: The Sham that Shook the Academy* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000) and Alan Sokal *Beyond the Hoax: Science, Philosophy and Culture* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)

[11] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 12CC141-142

spectacle. He may have 'wanted him killed, but [he] didn't want to see it done.'[12] In the end, however, it appears that he need not have bothered. Whilst Clinkenbeard was away another member of the group, John Hanks, complained to his companion, John McIntyre, that their chosen course of action 'looked like murder.' McIntyre obviously agreed with the sentiment and finally the pair interrupted the procrastinating Irishman, and asked him not to shoot Blue Jacket.[13] When Clinkenbeard returned to the group, he found that 'the Irishman's heart [had] failed him,' and rather than standing over a dead body, he stood over a still living captive who had been granted a draught of whiskey. In Blue Jacket's own words, this was a 'velly good turn [sic].'[14]

When conceptualising the frontier, images such as Hugh McGary battering in the skull of a helpless, elderly captive are rarely far from view. A study of the historiography of events such as the Gnadenhutten massacre and groups such as the Paxton Boys will attest to the importance such acts of brutality play in modern interpretations of this period.[15] However, it should also be noted that the settlers were far from two-dimensional characters that killed merely for pleasure. Indeed, they could demonstrate a marked reluctance to kill, particularly in cold blood. Of course, men like Hugh McGary and countless others demonstrate that the settlers were certainly prepared to murder those whom they identified as their enemy, but the actions of Blue Jacket's captors equally suggest that the desire to kill was not an unfettered, out of control, or pleasurable impulse. McGary's murder of Moluntha was tied closely to the defeat suffered by the settlers at the Blue Licks and his wider, troubled past with the Indians.[16] In contrast, the capture of Blue Jacket does not appear to have coincided with any particularly potent loss or defeat suffered by those who captured him. That said James Baize, who had been a prisoner of the Indians in the relatively recent past, did smash the chief's face with his

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[12] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 12CC141-142 and John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 12CC64

[13] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 12CC141-142

[14] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 12CC64

[15] For examples dealing with the Gnadenhutten Massacre see Harper 'Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhutten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence,' pp. 621-643, Leonard Sadosky 'Rethinking the Gnadenhutten Massacre: The Contest for Power in the Public World of the Revolutionary Pennsylvania Frontier' in David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson (eds.) *The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814* (East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 2001). For examples of works dealing with the Paxton Boys see Kenny *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, James Kirby Martin 'The Return of the Paxton Boys and the Historical State of the Pennsylvania Frontier' *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 38 (1971): 117-133 and Brooke Hindle 'The March of the Paxton Boys' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 3 (1946): 462-486

[16] William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the Life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC79-96

rifle butt. His experiences, however, had not been so distressing as to inspire him to finish the job.[17]

To put it another way, the communal revenge being discussed in this chapter required *cause* in order to come into *effect*. Blue Jacket was fortunate in that his recent actions had not created a situation in which his death was highly likely, but many Indians did find themselves in precisely that situation. When Andrew Johnson led his small band north of the Ohio River in 1778, he did so because recent events, including his own captivity and a series of raids south of the Ohio River, had been potent enough to inspire him to make a concerted attempt to extract retribution from the Indians. Johnson and his followers did not leave Kentucky because they enjoyed killing Indians. Nor did they leave because the arrival of an aggressive Indian army or raiding party left them no choice. On the contrary, these men took the initiative into their own hands by taking the fight to their enemy, an action that required at least some degree of reflection and forethought. For better or for worse they had placed themselves in a position to engage in combat which would almost certainly fail to benefit them directly. Such practicalities, however, did not stop this band from undertaking the journey to Ohio, nor did the inherent risks stop them from ambushing the first isolated group of Indians they encountered. They did not succeed in killing any Indians and their careless return trip exposed them as the true culprits of this attack – the routed Shawnee had initially believed that they had been set upon by 'some other tribe of Indians' – but they had completed their objective, raiding the Indians as the settlers had been raided countless times over the past three years.[18] Evidently, Johnson's raid was never designed to be a tactical coup de grâce.

As a message, however, the raid probably was effective, particularly as it came during a time when the Indians had demonstrated a complete mastery over not only the wilderness, but psychological warfare also. Johnson's party may not have succeeded in securing any form of tactical victory but it did succeed in demonstrating to the Shawnee that the settlers were both willing and capable of striking back. What it did not illustrate was why these settlers went to such lengths in order to accomplish such a relatively minor end.[19] Unlike Colonel John Armstrong's attack upon the Indian settlement of Kittanning during the Seven Years War, Johnson's raid was no rescue mission.[20] This reality was borne out by both the tiny size of

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[17] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hanks' Draper Manuscripts 12CC141-142
[18] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC77-78
[19] In 1776, for instance, there was talk among the settlers of ambushing Indians that never materialised into an actual confrontation. There was in 1776, just as in 1778 and beyond, a significant divide between desire to carry out an action and actually following through with one's threats. 'Letter from Colonel Dorsey Pentecost to Captain William Harrod, November 12th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 4NN34
[20] Ward *Breaking the Backcountry*, pp. 106-107 and James P. Myers 'Pennsylvania's Awakening: The Kittanning Raid of 1756' *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 66 (1999): 399-420

Johnson's party and the lack of any follow up activities on the part of either this group or any other settlers. Had Johnson's raid been a meaningful endeavour it is likely that the aggrieved settlers of Kentucky would have replicated it at some point throughout the remainder of 1778 or early 1779. That they did not is telling, whilst their failure to throw ready support behind George R. Clark's expedition into Illinois a little over a month later similarly demonstrates a reluctance to assault the Indians, particularly during the busy summer agricultural season.[21] Rather than fighting in an offensive manner the settlers attempted to live their lives as best they could, acting defensively or engaging in combat when the need rather than the desire arose.

Offensive action upon the frontier was never a given. By its very nature such actions were difficult processes, requiring a number of factors to be fulfilled before they could be undertaken. For one, such manoeuvres not only required a disparate group to be mobilized under a single banner, but motivated to proactively engage in combat. It also required resources and commitment and, perhaps most importantly, it required those who took part in such operations to identify more value in the risks they would face than in simply perpetuating the status quo of their everyday lives. These difficulties were compounded by a series of other options which were open to the settlers – retreat, fortification, accommodation, and surrender – all of which were utilized at different times throughout the frontier war.[22] Offensive combat, then, was an extraordinary occurrence, not a natural residue of conflict. When Johnson and his men crossed the Ohio they engaged in a manoeuvre which was thus out of the ordinary. Aside from bucking the defensive trend of the settlers, the members of this raiding party went to great lengths in order to place themselves in harm's way for the sake of affecting a very minor victory over their foe.[23] Although the actions of the raiders were largely insignificant in the broad context of the frontier war, they nonetheless represented a microcosm of the conditions that would lead the settler community to begin major offensives against the Indians in the coming years. In order to understand the social movement that would grip the Kentucky country and trans-Appalachian world from 1779 to 1782 it is necessary to understand the forces that helped to lead Johnson's raiders north of the Ohio.

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[21] For the impact of agricultural work upon the militia see Mark V. Kwansy *Washington's Partisan War, 1775-1783* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1996), p. 54

[22] During the siege of Boonesborough, for instance, surrender was a very real option with Daniel Boone a particular champion of this option. Both Martin's and Riddle's Station's in 1780 would likewise draw upon this option whilst settlers throughout the frontier fortified on a regular basis, as well as retreating to more stable regions east of the Appalachians. For Boone's willingness to surrender see Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 65-67

[23] As Peter Silverman has shown, settlers most often went out of their way to avoid confrontation whenever they could do so. Silver *Our Savage Neighbours*, pp. 54-55

For Johnson, the immediate motivation for his summer time raid probably dated back to February, 1778, when he, along with Daniel Boone and almost thirty other men, were captured by the Shawnee whilst harvesting salt at the Lower Blue Licks in Kentucky. It appears that Johnson's lack of height served him well on this occasion as his captors mistook him for a young adolescent rather than a full grown man and, as such, he was quickly adopted into an Indian family at the town of Chillicothe. Although a captive, Johnson did not suffer among the Indians but instead enjoyed a family life with his adoptive father showing a particularly strong degree of affection for his new son. When Johnson, known to his new family rather endearingly as Peguolly, or 'Little Shut his Eyes,' made his escape around the first of June his new father 'grieved...very much' believing that his son, who 'co'dn't shoot and didn't know the way to Kentuck[y],' would surely 'die in the woods.' After a trying three day search for the lost 'infant,' Johnson's despondent father began to seek solace in the still captive Boone, whom he would often ask 'Boone! Think Peguolly found the way to Kentucky?' Apparently this Shawnee wanted his son to find his way safely back to the settlements rather than dying, alone and hungry, in the wilderness. Within two weeks of arriving at Harrodsburgh, however, the wily Johnson had set out upon the country's first retaliatory raid against the Shawnee, in spite of what appears to have been months of decent, familial treatment at their hands.[24]

Johnson's experiences, however, cannot be analysed at face value. Although his and the other salt boilers capture had been a bloodless surrender, it was not, as Stephen Aron has argued, an attempt by the Shawnee to peacefully assimilate the whole frontier population, at least not entirely.[25] To be sure, the Shawnee certainly promised amnesty to the salt boilers, and later to the inhabitants of Boonesborough when they famously besieged the town, but their process of assimilation was far from universal.[26] For those not earmarked for adoption, sale to the British at Detroit was their ultimate fate and though Johnson may have enjoyed the protection offered by his new adolescent identity he was nevertheless forced to watch from an impotent position as his fellow settlers were marched to Detroit as prisoners of war or subjugated, sometimes violently, by the Indians.[27] Johnson's fate among the Shawnee may have been comfortable, but it was a comfort he could enjoy only in the context of the degradation suffered by the original captured band.[28] To compound matters, raids against Kentucky and the wider frontier continued apace throughout Johnson's five month captivity,

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[24] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC76-77. See also Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Delinda Boone Craig' Draper Manuscripts 30C54
[25] Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 40-45
[26] Faragher *Daniel Boone*, pp. 162-176
[27] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 57-59 and Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 163
[28] 'Letter from John Wade to Lyman C. Draper, December 28th, 1859' Draper Manuscripts 24C108

the sight of departing war bands and returning scalps likely speaking volumes. To his captors Peguolly may have become a member of their family, but to Johnson he remained a prisoner of war, a helpless witness to the failure of Shawnee amnesty.

By the time he was finally able to affect his escape around the first of June, Johnson had developed no particular bond with his captors. Indeed, through their continued designs upon Boonesborough and the treatment of the salt boilers exiled to Detroit, Johnson's resentment appears to have deepened.[29] It is not impossible that Johnson, like many other former captives, developed some reciprocal bond with his adoptive family but if any such bond did indeed develop it certainly did not extend to the Shawnee as a whole.[30] From the inside out he had witnessed events which he interpreted as the Shawnee's attempt to violently dismantle settler society through continuous raiding and the sale of captives to the British and it was these apparent depredations that appear to have led Johnson to formulate his counteroffensive. Although his own personal experience had not been particularly trying, the experience of the community – who had been subjected to continuous raids and starvation – had been. With his small band of followers, Johnson could not hope to free any of those who remained in captivity or to stymie the flow of raiding parties operating in Kentucky, but he could endeavour to achieve something far more intangible; revenge, not for himself, but for his people.[31]

Whatever the practical limitations and implications of Johnson's raid, he was not alone in fostering a desire for retribution, particularly in the years following 1778. Johnson's particular experiences and perspective had led him to an extraordinary response but as the frontier war continued, and as a larger and larger proportion of the settler community came to be directly affected by the fighting, more of his contemporaries began to develop a comparable outlook. As the 1770s drew to a close, conflict became more than a means to a tactical end; it became the primary means through which revenge and retribution could be attained. Settlers no longer engaged solely in the practical patterns of defensive fighting which had defined the first years of settlement in Kentucky. Certainly, retreating and forting would

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[29] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC76-77

[30] For an example of this type of relationship (a genuine bond between captive and adoptive parent, but not between captive and their adoptive tribe) see John Davenport 'Narrative of Mr. John Davenport' in Elias Darnell *A Journal Containing an Accurate and Interesting Account of the Hardships, Sufferings, Battles, Defeat, and Captivity of those Heroic Kentucky Volunteers and Regulars Commanded by General Winchester in the Years 1812-1813. Also, Two Narratives, by Men that were Wounded in the Battles of the River, and Taken Captive by the Indians* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1854), pp. 92-94

[31] John Armstrong's raid upon Kittanning during the Seven Years, though conceived as a rescue mission, was recognised as fulfilling a similar role by Governor Morris, as described by Matthew Ward in *Breaking the Backcountry*. As Ward noted, 'Governor Morris himself commented that the attack "will be of great use to the Publick as it will raise the spirits of the People and serve to remove that dread and Panick which has seized the generality."' Ward *Breaking the Backcountry*, p. 106

continue to be options utilized by many, but a significant proportion of the community would respond to attacks with offensive actions of their own, combat not for the sake of achieving a tactical end or measurable victory, but combat for the sake of revenge. As the 1780s dawned this new pattern began to take root in settler society, ultimately resulting in a further increase in the level of fighting which plagued the frontier.[32] Rather than taking steps to control the war, the settlers now actively courted and initiated clashes with their aboriginal adversaries. Problematically, revenge was unquantifiable, something that was felt and measured by individual settlers as opposed to the community and, as such, it was rarely sated. For their part, the settlers easily found the motivation required to continue or even to escalate the pattern of violence which would define the war. For five years significant Indian raids had brought the settlers to a crisis point. The response of the settlers, to begin assaults of their own, would do likewise for the Indian tribes of the Ohio Valley, a reciprocal system of violence that would drive both sides to a confrontational equilibrium that would carry the war on the frontier past the conclusion of the American Revolution.

Indeed, that system created a type of anti-Indian radical on one side and a type of anti-Settler radical on the other, relatively small sub-groups whose size would increase as the war progressed into the early 1780s. From as early as the winter of 1777, George Rogers Clark had recognised the potential of Indian raids to create a far more proactive desire for violence among the settlers. Although focused upon defeating the British when he planned his 1778 campaign into Illinois, Clark hardly shied away from drawing upon general resentment of the Indians in order to draw support to his cause.[33] By the early summer months of 1778 the power of anti-Indian sentiment – and his promise to act upon it – meant that he would later be able to write that '[I] Had my little army recruited in half the time I expected. Elevated with the thoughts of the great service we should do our Country in some measure; putting an end to the Indian War on our Frontiers.' In spite of this initial rush of enthusiasm, however, the reality of Indian raids across the backcountry meant that his army almost collapsed as soon as it had formed. Gathering his forces at Redstone, western Virginia, an area 'much distressed by

[32] For examples of increasing assaults upon Kentucky, particularly with regards to assaults such as those upon (or near) Martin's and Ruddle's Stations, Bryan's Station, Strode's Station, etc, see John D. Shane 'Interview with John Craig' Draper Manuscripts 12CC145, John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC54-66, John D. Shane 'Interview with Jeptha Kemper' Draper Manuscripts 12CC127-133, John D. Shane 'Interview with William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC61-64, John D. Shane 'Interview with Unnamed Person' Draper Manuscripts 11CC177, John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. John Arnold' Draper Manuscripts 11CC241-245, and John D. Shane 'Interview with Ephraim January' Draper Manuscripts 11CC221-224

[33] 'Letter from George R. Clark to Colonel George Mason, November 19th, 1779' Microfilm B/C 593m, Filson Historical Society, pp. 1-3. For general attitudes linking the British to the Indians see 'Letter from Governor Patrick Henry to Colonel William Flemming, February 13th, 1778' Draper Manuscripts 15ZZ17 and 'Letter from David Zeisberger to General Edward Hand, September 23rd, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 6ZZ8

the Indians,' had proven to be a near fatal mistake. Clark's followers may have fostered a desire to attack the Indians but what they saw and heard at Redstone made most reluctant to leave their farmsteads and families undefended. The promise of attacking the Indians had been enough to rally the settlers to Clark's banner, but the thought of leaving the frontier undefended, *at this stage in the war*, proved to be just as potent.[34]

Thus facing the disintegration of his force, Clark was left with no option but to set out for Kentucky as quickly as possible. Although he was struggling to maintain the integrity and viability of his little army, the ambitious major remained hopeful that he would be able to gather new recruits on the journey as well as rendezvousing with the remaining volunteers who had committed themselves from across the backcountry. Upon his arrival in Kentucky, however, Clark's hopes were to be dashed once again as entire squads either failed to appear or disintegrated en route to his location. '[Y]ou may easily guess at my mortification,' Clark would later write, when Captain Smith and his men failed to arrive at the designated meeting point prior to the launch of the Illinois campaign. According to Clark, 'all of his Men had been stopt by the insessant labours of the populace [sic].'[35] This was a particularly precarious position for Clark as his entire ability to launch any planned invasion of Illinois rested upon the support he could gather upon the frontier, both in terms of man power and material resources.[36] When a group of Kentuckians commanded by a Captain Delland finally did rendezvous with Clark any positive implications were likely undermined by the fact that even this group had been 'threatened to be put into Prison if they did not return,' to their settlements in order shore up defences against the Indians.[37]

In spite of his ambitions, Clark was restrained by the attitude he discovered across the frontier. On the one hand Clark had drawn upon a strong desire among many to strike back at the Indians but so too was there a strong reflex to shore up defences against that same group. To compound this, it was by now obvious, in spite of his expedition's attempt at secrecy, that Clark was not targeting Ohio – the home of the most aggressive tribes – but the relatively peaceful Illinois country.[38] True, there was certainly a British presence in the region but the population as a whole was largely comprised of neutral Indians or settlers formerly of New

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[34] 'Letter from George R. Clark to Colonel George Mason, November 19th, 1779' Microfilm B/C 593m, Filson Historical Society, pp. 4-6
[35] Ibid, pp. 5-6
[36] 'List of Articles used by Clark's Expedition against the Wabash Indians' Robert T. Durrett Collection on Kentucky and the Ohio River Valley, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, University of Chicago Library: accessed 10:30am, 3/3/11, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fawbib:1:./temp/~ammem_YBdR::
[37] 'Letter from George R. Clark to Colonel George Mason, November 19th, 1779,' Microfilm B/C 593m, Filson Historical Society, p. 6
[38] Griffin *American Leviathan*, pp. 141-142

France who posed, on balance, only a minimal threat to Kentucky and western Virginia.[39] The settlers of the frontier demonstrated with their inaction their lack of confidence that any invasion of Illinois could materially impact their lives; they may have been willing to rally, in principle, against the Indians but they were not willing to rally against the British. Indeed, rather than ease the frontier war it appears that Clark merely spread it further by providing new opportunities for conflict with the tribes of Illinois.[40]

By the end of 1778, however, continuous Indian attacks south of the Ohio had served to sharpen anti-Indian sentiment in the region. In addition to suffering raids, the country had been subjected to mass captive takings, sieges, and widespread starvation that had laid a solid groundwork upon which a desire for communal revenge could be built. Even following the capture of Henry Hamilton in 1779, the Governor of Detroit upon whom many had laid the blame for widespread Indian scalping, there was no notable reduction in the level of violence which dominated the frontier.[41] Hamilton's role, like that of the British in general, may have been to facilitate and to supply the Indians but he had no real control over their activities and, following his capture, the earlier pattern of war which they had established continued without interruption. Moreover, the settlers of the frontier did not necessarily connect Indian assaults to the British directly. Instead they consciously connected the Indians directly to their atrocities, consequently focusing their need for retribution primarily onto this group. The British were certainly not popular, but support for them vacillated along with individual political allegiances. The Indians, however, became the recipients of near universal derision, a rare bridge connecting rebels, Tories and the politically ambiguous alike throughout the backcountry. William Clinkenbeard, himself a diehard patriot, remembered being ordered to the defence of a 'Tory' Station during the spring of 1781; 'They were afraid,' he would later recall, 'and we were as afraid as they.'[42] Indian attacks, or the fear of Indian attacks, failed to respect divisions between rebel Americans, British sympathizers, or those with little interest in such matters. West of the Appalachians, fear of the Indians was a great leveler.

In order to understand why the settlers transformed their deepening animosity into a communal movement that demanded revenge it is necessary to analyze the implications Indian attacks had upon their society. Like Andrew Johnson, many settlers began to escalate their response to raids owing to perceived violations of the community but, unlike Johnson's

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[39] Davies *Frontier Illinois*, pp. 56-89

[40] 'Letter from John Montgomery to Evan Shelby, September 16th, 1779' University of Kentucky Archive 52W71

[41] *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Nicolson), May 22nd, 1779, p. 2 and *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Nicolson), June 26th, 1779, p. 1

[42] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbead' Draper Manuscripts 11CC54-56

captivity, many in the settlements were exposed to a steady stream of particularly graphic examples of how brutal the frontier war had become. George Fearis, for instance, would remember for the rest of his life the day he and two companions 'saw the hog at something' as they rode through their neighbourhood. Investigating the odd sight, one of the Fearis's companions discovered that the pigs had in fact been feasting upon the remains of one of his children. According to Fearis, the child's father 'gathered what...he could' of the body, 'and took it along and buried it.'[43] The discovery of a brutalized body was an occurrence which spoke to the settlers of the events which had surrounded the death of a victim, and the apparent attitude of their killer. As chapter five will demonstrate, the discovery of a body, particularly that of a family member or close acquaintance, could be a disturbing episode in its own right but when enough evidence remained to draw conclusions as to the circumstances surrounding their death the impact could be felt all the more keenly.

Betsy Moseby, for instance, heard 'a very a curious, ugly sort of noise,' which turned out to be the last sound made by one of her girlhood friends, Elizabeth Sanders, before she was tomahawked and scalped alive. When the girl was discovered she had yet to expire from her wounds and continued to live until 'the next day.' William Niblick reported this incident to John Shane before mentioning the danger he had also apparently faced; 'I had been out all that day hunting horses, had passed before this...same ground.' Even without seeing an Indian Niblick had come to believe that, but for the passage of a few hours, his fate and that of the young Sanders girl could have been easily reversed. To compound the impact this event had upon him, Niblick was closely acquainted with both the Moseby and Sanders families, relating later that 'they were particular friends of my family.'[44] Rebecca Grant, one of Daniel Boone's nieces, would later dwell upon this very same incident when writing to Lyman Draper before relating to him the other atrocities which had been attributed to Sander's killers; murder, kidnapping, and massacres.[45] Such incidents did much to forge a communal settler identity against a common enemy, but by the 1780s each new episode was laid upon a potent legacy of prior bloodshed that led the community to the point where it would begin taking offensive and often atrocious measures of its own.

Following the murder of John Wymore in 1781 a group of settlers were able to kill one of the Indians responsible for the popular hunter's death; with ruthless efficiency, the dead Indian's head was then removed from his body and hung from the branches of a tree whilst the rest of his remains, in a mirror of Hugh McGary's earlier actions, were 'cut up...for the

[43] John D. Shane 'Interview with George Fearis' Draper Manuscripts 13CC238-244
[44] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Niblick' Draper Manuscripts 11CC84-85
[45] 'Letter from Rebecca Lemond to Lyman C. Draper, March 22nd, 1853' Draper Manuscripts 22C41

dogs.'[46] Similarly, John Rupard would remember the appearance of a scouting party at his settlement, the head of another dead Indian hanging from a pole which they carried before them.[47] In 1782 Bryan's Station was assaulted by the Indians but it was in the aftermath of this engagement, when two Indian bodies were discovered, that many of the town's inhabitants demonstrated just how desirous for revenge they had become. With the first body sunk to the bottom of a pond and thus inaccessible, the group instead turned upon that of the second Indian, a young man around '17 or 18' years of age whom they discovered in a thicket, wrapped carefully in a blanket. This latter body appears to have elicited the sympathy of some within the town, particularly a number of women who commented upon the boy's 'fine [and] tender hands and feet.' The apparent innocence some recognised in this corpse, however, was not universal and though 'The women...begged that he might be buried,' the men who discovered him promised only that 'if they didn't hush they would hang him up for [a] carrier.' Rather than suspending the body in the air, the men instead laid him 'in a hollow' where he 'made a greater smell than a hundred horses.' Although he had not been suspended for the birds to consume he had been laid out in order for his remains to be destroyed in another, equally graphic and public manner. The birds may not have been welcome but the animals of the town set about consuming the young Indian's remains with aplomb. Years later one of the town's women would recall that 'I saw my sow in his belly more than a dozen times.'[48]

Through such acts of desecration the settlers were able to extract some limited degree of revenge from the Indians but, by 1779, the groundswell for such actions was beginning to be reflected in a more proactive, offensive approach to the war. Gathering more than two hundred and fifty men to his banner that summer, John Bowman's campaign against the Shawnee town of Chillicothe represented a significant change in settler attitudes as the belligerently defensive outlook Clark had encountered the previous year began to give way. Although expeditions north of the Ohio dangerously reduced the defensive capability of the settlements, they offered those who took part in them an opportunity to settle communal or personal vendettas.[49] When Bowman's force approached Chillicothe the decision to divide the

[46] John D. Shane 'Interview with ----- Wymore' Draper Manuscripts 11CC128-132
[47] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Rupard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC99-104
[48] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Arnold' Draper Manuscripts 11CC241-245
[49] Jane Merritt's study of intercultural violence during the Seven Years War in her monograph, *At the Cross Roads*, emphasises the growth of conflict as a very personal phenomena. In this work Merritt demonstrates that both sides understood the culture of the other and that it was precisely this understanding combined with 'kin alliances' between the two groups that brought them into direct confrontations. In the Kentucky-Ohio region direct links between settlers and Indians, although present in some cases, were often absent. This, however, does not mean the war was not a personal one. Rather than identifying a specific killer, the settlers instead identified their aggressors as a collective whilst interpreting the acts of its component parts in a personal manner. It mattered little which Indian had committed a given atrocity, only than an Indian had done so. In this way the actions of one were

army into two so that the inhabitants of the town were completely surrounded likely appealed to the settlers not just on a tactical level, but a personal one. The plan, however, was betrayed when the overzealous desire of one settler, Hugh Ross, to kill Indians overrode the greater tactical need of the group; as soon as Ross spotted an Indian, he opened fire. Alerted to the looming danger, the inhabitants of Chillicothe were able to fortify themselves in a reversal of the previous year's siege of Boonesborough. Unlike in 1778, however, it was now the settlers who had undertaken a difficult journey through the wilderness in order to attack their enemies. After a short siege the settlers withdrew from the town in order to return to Kentucky having, it appears, inflicted no more than seven casualties upon the Indians. Mirroring Andrew Johnson's earlier raid, Bowman and his men appear to have been satisfied with having inflicted a minor defeat upon their foe rather than having achieved anything close a significant tactical victory.[50] Although George Clark had proposed a plan that would ultimately see all of Illinois fall into American hands, it was to Bowman's ineffective campaign that the settlers had flocked and it was this episode which they would later remember in their oral tradition.[51]

Throughout the remainder of 1779, and into 1780, Indian raids south of the Ohio River not only continued apace but escalated in response to Bowman's expedition.[52] For the Indians of the Ohio Valley the attack upon Chillicothe became something of a rallying cry allowing the Shawnee to galvanise support.[53] Not only had the settlers invaded their valuable hunting grounds south of the Ohio but they now appeared to be demonstrating designs upon the Indian's northern territory. Importantly, the last time a settler army had marched upon Chillicothe it had resulted in the divisive Treaty of Camp Charlotte which had seen representatives of the Shawnee agree to cede their claims south of the Ohio following the conclusion of Dunmore's War. Of course, Bowman's attack had nothing to do with claiming land in Ohio but that does not mean that a significant settler presence in this territory was taken lightly. For the past three years rumours had spread throughout the Ohio country suggesting that the Americans residing south of the river would not be content with control of this region alone. Indeed, many rumours found their start in speeches made by former American agents, almost all of which suggested that the settlers sought not just title to land but a chance to annihilate the northern tribes. For many Indians such statements bordered

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substituted for the attitude of the whole, something which allowed settlers to form very personal vendettas which could be applied to the Indians collectively. See Merritt *At the Cross Roads*, pp. 170-182

[50] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC65-66

[51] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC65-66 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Major Herman Bowmar' Draper Manuscripts 13CC170-174

[52] 'Letter from Rebecca Lemond to Lyman C. Draper, March 22nd, 1853' Draper Manuscripts 22C41

[53] David Zeisberger 'The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772-1781,' p. 506

upon the preposterous, at least initially, but the death of Cornstalk, the invasion of Illinois and, now, Bowman's campaign into Ohio all began to suggest that the settler presence in the south could prove to be far more dangerous than many had initially anticipated.[54]

To compound matters, Bowman's campaign had resulted in the death of the popular war chief, Blackfish, who had been responsible for some of the most important attacks upon the settlers including the capture of Daniel Boone, Andrew Johnson and the salt boilers, not to mention the siege of Boonesborough. Although Blackfish's death should have been a great victory for the settlers they did not seem to have had any intelligence of it until sometime later, possibly not even until the end of the Revolutionary War when returning captives were able to share this information with the community.[55] Blackfish's death, however, would not have gone unnoticed by his followers. Having died of wounds he had received whilst attempting to ambush the retreating Kentuckians, he could not have hoped for a better, more symbolic passing and, within a relatively short period of time, those who had looked to him for leadership began to look southward with renewed vigour.[56] When, in 1780, an opportunity arose for the Indians to utilize their British allies to gain a major victory in the south they seized upon it. Throughout the past year the Indians had continued to raid Kentucky but in the summer a multi-tribal force, possibly numbering as many as nine hundred, gathered for their largest single strike against the country.[57] This mass raid may have been aided by the British but it did not represent a truly British invasion of Kentucky as the overwhelming majority who took part were Native Americans. The British certainly helped to facilitate the gathering of such a significant force but the Indians who took part in this expedition did so for their own purposes.[58] That so many took part in this campaign is telling of how all encompassing the frontier war had become; to put this force's size into perspective the Shawnee – by 1780 – could probably field around three hundred warriors, the Delaware around seven hundred, the Miami around three hundred, the Wyandot around two hundred, whilst the Mingo could field

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[54] John Heckewelder 'A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohoegan Indians from its Commencement in the Year 1740 to the Close of the Year 1808' in William Elsey Connelly (ed.) *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohoegan Indians from its Commencement in the Year 1740 to the Close of the Year 1808* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1907), pp. 291-295

[55] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC66

[56] Griffin *American Leviathan*, pp. 156-159

[57] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 11CC276-279

[58] It is important when the frontier war is analysed that the agency of the Indians is emphasised rather than that of the British, something R. E. Banta failed to do in his study of the region. See R. E. Banta *The Ohio* (1949; reprinted, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), pp. 150-159

just sixty. The hostile tribes of Ohio, it appears, were willing to commit more than half of their total warriors to a single campaign against the settlers.[59]

The Indian invasion of 1780 was a markedly different affair from the vast majority of raids which had hitherto plagued the frontier. First, the sheer number Indians involved dwarfed any prior invasion of the country.[60] Secondly, when the invading army successfully defeated two fortified settlements, Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, the Indians demonstrated their determination to roll back the settlements south of the Ohio River. Although the siege of Boonesborough had been a trying experience, the Indians' casualties had far exceeded those of the town's defenders and, ultimately, the settlement had endured.[61] Unlike in 1778, however, the Indians' British allies had brought artillery.[62] Rather than facing the prospect of dealing with an Indian army from within the relative safety of a fort, the residents of Martin's and Ruddle's Stations instead had to deal with the possibility that their primary means of defence would disintegrate in the face of cannon fire, turning their defensive structure into a slaughter house. The fall, first of Ruddle's and then of Martin's Stations, thus represented one of the Indians' greatest psychological victories of the war. British artillery may have made these events possible, but it was the settlers' fear of the Indians that had led them to surrender so readily, negotiating with British agents in order to hold the Indians, and their tomahawks, in check.[63]

Fear of what the Indians might do was logically held; when the British agent Simon Girty negotiated the surrender of the towns' inhabitants he reinforced the point, warning them that 'if they did not surrender, they would all be killed, as the Indians was so angry.' More than meaningless hyperbole, Girty had to work almost constantly to ensure that the captives taken from these towns came to no harm on their journey north. Although he may have had a reputation as a notorious turncoat, traitor and savage, Girty worked 'hard afterwards to save them.'[64] Though Blackfish had been dead for approximately a year the sacking of these settlements represented the fulfilment of his original ambition, his

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[59] Greene and Harrington *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790*, pp. 198-200
[60] 'Letter from Joseph Munger, Jr. to Lyman C. Draper, January 17th, 1849' Draper Manuscripts 10E157-160
[61] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 70
[62] Banta *The Ohio*, p. 156
[63] John D. Shane 'Interview with Isaac Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC1, John D. Shane 'Interview with Miss Campbell' Draper Manuscripts 13CC82-87, and John D. Shane 'Interview with John Craig' Draper Manuscripts 12CC145
[64] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Sarah Girty Munger, December 15th-16th, 1864' Draper Manuscripts 20S195-218

vindication.[65] For the settlers, the fall of these stations was a disaster and, as the Indians and their British allies spirited their prisoners away from the country, 'terror' began to grip many of those left behind.[66] Indeed, with as many as three to four hundred persons taken into captivity the defeat of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations could very well represent the single largest capture of civilians by Indians in the history of North America.[67]

The fall of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations helped to focus an acute sense of anger across the breadth of the population. The British certainly did not gain any prestige from their role in this incident, particularly as the presence of their cannon had prompted the forts to surrender, but it was upon the Indians that the settlers turned their considerable wrath.[68] Although the settlers could have continued their defensive campaign against the Indians, or – individually – chosen to retreat from the frontier, as they did in 1777, they instead overwhelmingly chose to attack the northern tribes, a manoeuvre that guaranteed neither a meaningful victory nor future security. It certainly would not have been unusual had the settlers chosen to retreat; during the Seven Years War, Pontiac's Rebellion and even Dunmore's War, the backcountry had, after all, been emptied by Indian attacks.[69] In the case of defensive fighting, not only had this tactic proven broadly successful but the increasing settler population implied a degree of inherent security in some of the most well developed and densely populated areas. It should be understood that by 1780 approximately one thousand to twelve hundred men capable of bearing arms lived in the region from a total population of approximately five thousand persons.[70] This ever increasing population would prove hard to eradicate and, because of the sheer numbers involved, the Indians would have to fundamentally undermine settler society in order to undermine the viability of defensive

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[65] 'Letter from Joseph Jones and James Madison, Jr. to Governor Benjamin Harrison, November 26th, 1782' Governor's Letters Received, July 1776 to November 1784 (Collection) GLR/04083, Library of Virginia

[66] John D. Shane 'Interview with Daniel Bryan' Draper Manuscripts 22C27-28 and 'Letter from John May to Samuel Beall, April 15th, 1780' Beall-Booth Family Papers, 1778-1956 A/B365, Filson Historical Society

[67] 'Letter from George Washington to Governor Benjamin Harrison, November 13th, 1782' Governor's Letters Received, July 1776 to November 1784 (Collection) GLR/04011, Library of Virginia. For other significant captivity experiences see Linda Colley *Captives*, Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeny *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), John Demos *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Random House, 1995), and Pekka Hamalanien *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008)

[68] Samuel Harvey Laughlin, Emory L. Hamilton (ed.) 'Diary of Samuel Harvey Laughlin, A Sketch of Captain John Dunkin recorded from James Laughlin' *Historical Sketches of Southwest Virginia: A Publication of the Southwest Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (1976)

[69] Anderson *Crucible of War* , pp. 108-109 and Gregory Evans Dowd *War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & The British Empire* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2002) and David Dixon *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), pp. 114-147

[70] Greene and Harrington *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790*, pp. 192-193

fighting. Unlike 1777, the growing population was now large enough that its relative concentration in certain areas – and the associated destruction of the wilderness which accompanied this – was beginning to create areas of relative security. The frontier was evidently a dangerous place, but the community, as a whole, recognised that it could be secured; reverse migration from the country was not a significant issue following the fall of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations.

In the face of a largely successful defensive campaign offensive action was certainly not the obvious choice, particularly as it was plagued by a number of practical limitations which had led the settlers to not only ignore this option in the recent past but to actively avoid it.[71] In particular, such actions could significantly drain the defensive capability of the settlements leaving them vulnerable to raids and further disasters whilst the relative ineffectiveness of Bowman's Campaign had demonstrated that the settlers could not expect an easy or significant victory. Indeed, though Bowman's army had not been annihilated most settlers considered it a success only because the casualties gained by the Indians had *slightly* outweighed those sustained by the settlers.[72] These issues, however, did not stop the settlers from rallying around the idea of a counter offensive'[i]n consequence of the depredations' inflicted upon them throughout 1780.[73] As John Filson and Daniel Boone would later reflect, the fall of Martin's and Ruddle's Stations had been 'shocking to humanity, and too barbarous to relate.'[74] 'Thus harassed' by the events of 1780, the settlers 'immediately' turned their eyes north, throwing themselves at the opportunity to 'chastise the[ir] enemy' with a level of enthusiasm they would never quite repeat.[75]

Although it was George Clark, the captor of both Illinois and Henry Hamilton, who spearheaded the settlers' counter strike against the Ohio Indians it was the masses of the frontier who not only made the campaign possible, but gave it its significance. Following the defeat of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, eight hundred to a thousand men, around eighty percent of the country's adult male population – an astonishing proportion – flocked to Clark's banner in order to launch the largest per capita counteroffensive to come out of the Kentucky country.[76] Even those who remained did so with an air of martial responsibility, to 'protect the

[71] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 60-72
[72] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC65-66
[73] McAfee 'The Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family and Connections,' p. 45
[74] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 72
[75] 'Letter from John McCaddon to John S. Williams, May 16th 1842' in John S. Williams (ed.) *American Pioneer, A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Objects of the Logan Historical Society; or, to Collecting and Publishing Sketches Relative to Early Settlement and Successive Improvement of the Country, Volume I* (Cincinnati: H.P. Brooks, 1844), p. 377 and Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 72
[76] John D. Shane 'Interview with Ephriam Sandusky' Draper Manuscripts 11CC141-145. See also William Hayden English *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778-1783 and Life of General*

settlements,' whilst those unable to take part directly in the operation – namely women and children – also played a part as they 'scraped up corn...and made bread' and other essential supplies.[77] Never before had the population of Kentucky acted so overwhelmingly as a single entity, marching not only under a common banner, but for a common purpose that was the product of their particular experiences with the Indians. Underlining the explicit link between the events, one settler would later remark that '[t]he panic occasioned throughout Kentucky by the taking of Martin's and Ruddle's Stations, caused the people to look up to General Clarke as their only hope [sic].'[78] Clark may have led the campaign but it had been his 'promise' for revenge against the Indians that had furnished his expedition with so many eager participants.[79]

Most importantly, the movement against the Ohio tribes represented a reaction that was distinct for a community that had primarily carried out a defensive war. General Brodhead may have warned Clark that the settlers 'must depend [only] upon themselves,' for this campaign, but he clearly failed to recognise just how fundamental communal support for such an expedition actually was.[80] Brodhead's warning may have been sound council in preceding years but the events of 1780 marked a turning point in settler attitudes towards the war with the Indians. It had only been a year prior to this campaign that John Bowman had been able to draw only around two hundred and fifty men to his cause whilst the year before had seen Clark able to gather only one hundred and fifty.[81] Now, however, the cumulative legacy of war had brought the frontier community to the point where the vast majority of its adult men were willing to engage in an invasion of the Ohio country. Clark's role in gathering and focusing this army was critical but it was the desire of the masses to fight offensively that allowed this force to come into existence.[82] Moreover, they were prepared to do this even when it meant leaving the settlements, which they had fought so hard to establish, almost defenceless; in the words of John Bradford, both a participant in the campaign and the

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George Rogers Clark (Indianapolis: The Bowell-Merrill Company, 1896): Volume Two, pp. 697-733 and Lowell Hayes Harrison *George Rogers Clark and the War in the West* (1976; reprint, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), pp. 69-76

[77] John D. Shane 'Interview with Ephriam Sandusky' Draper Manuscripts 11CC141-145

[78] John Bradford 'Notes on Kentucky' in Thomas D. Clark (ed.) *The Voice of the Frontier: John Bradford's Notes on Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), p. 37. For settlers remembering the fall of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, and Clark's campaign as directly connected see Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boone,' p. 71-72, John D. Shane 'Interview with Isaac Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC1, John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC105, and John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC58-59

[79] 'Recollections of Simon Kenton, December 7th, 1833' Draper Manuscripts 1BB74-75

[80] 'John Clairy's Deposition, August 5th, 1780' Haldimand Papers B/100, Library and Archives Canada

[81] 'Letter from George R. Clark to Colonel George Mason, November 19th, 1779' Microfilm B/C 593m, Filson Historical Society, p. 5 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC65-66

[82] Harrison *George Rogers Clark and the War in the West*, pp. 73-79

founding editor of the *Kentucky Gazette*, 'All appeared to be impressed with the belief, that if this army should be defeated, that few would be able to escape, and that the Indians would then fall on the defenceless women and children in Kentucky, and destroy the whole.'[83] Even the best expectations for this campaign must have been tempered by past experience and knowledge of Bowman's ineffective invasion the previous year.[84] Still, the masses marched upon Ohio, a vivid contrast to their actions during the Seven Years War.[85]

The defeat of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations had helped to draw the community's growing desire for revenge and retribution into a focus sharp enough to override the practical difficulties expected of such a massive campaign in the north. Of course it can be argued that the settlers were acting in a pragmatic way with the destruction of these forts suggesting a failure in their hitherto successful pattern of defensive fighting but there was more to the hundreds of individual decisions made by the settlers to invade Ohio than pragmatism alone.[86] Even the most practical societies would struggle to field virtually their entire adult male population for a single assault, particularly when there was no real reason to suspect that such an offensive operation would produce a meaningful success. As chapter six will show, the Kentuckians would consistently demonstrate significant restraint when it came to following agents of the government into battle. That they did on this occasion – particularly in such astonishing numbers – serves to underline the sheer depth of the community's growing animosity towards the northern tribes, not to mention the further radicalisation of anti-Indian sentiment among the larger group. According to Simon Girty, the British agent who had negotiated the surrender of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, the settlers were 'madmen…for they rushed into the most extreme danger, with a seeming disregard for consequences.'[87]

John Bradford probably offered the best insight into the forces which drove the settlers north, exploring their group mentality by reflecting upon the Indians' consistent practice of disappearing into the wilderness ahead of Clark's advancing forces. According to Bradford, 'It is an old maxim among the Indians, never to encounter a fool or a madman, (in which terms they include a desperate man) for they say, that with a man that has not sense enough to take prudent care of his own life, the life of his antagonist is in much greater danger.'[88] The settlers who took part in Clark's campaign were neither madmen nor fools but Bradford clearly identified his fellows as desperate. To Bradford, the settler campaign of 1780

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[83] Bradford 'Notes on Kentucky,' p. 42
[84] Theodore Roosevelt *The Winning of the West, Volume II: In the Current of the Revolution* (1889; reprint, New York: The Current Literature Publishing Company, 1905), p. 247-249
[85] Anderson *Crucible of War* , pp. 108-109
[86] McAfee 'The Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family and Connections,' pp. 45-46
[87] Bradford 'Note's on Kentucky,' p. 41
[88] ibid

was not one founded upon a prudent or measured response but was instead a reactionary episode that spoke of how the ongoing war was affecting the community. On this occasion, at least, prudence was abandoned in order for a symbolic madness to be expressed by the settlers as they marched upon the homes of their enemies in spite of the extreme vulnerability of the settlements they left behind. True, a major military victory *could* have done much for the settlers but the destruction of their homes and families by Indian raiding parties as they accomplished this end would have negated any such advancement.

The army which Clark led into Ohio may have been formidable in its size but the Shawnee demonstrated through their actions that prudence really was the better part of valour when they simply vanished into the wilderness ahead of its arrival. Given a choice of engaging in extensive combat, surrendering, or fading into the environment the Indians chose the latter in order to best preserve the wellbeing of their communities. Clark, however, was nevertheless able to turn this lack of confrontation into a tactical victory when he focused the general anti-Indian sentiment of his army into a scorched earth policy that saw the settlers ravage the abandoned Indian towns they encountered. Their inhabitants may have slipped away to avoid a confrontation but they left behind cornfields which were promptly destroyed along with a large number of dwellings, tools and other items. Though it was true that Clark's army did not gain the victory it sought, its component parts nonetheless revelled in the destruction they wrought and the lack of casualties they suffered.[89] The few skirmishes which did occur were celebrated as victories (although that interpretation played fast and loose with the nature of confrontation) and, once again, the settlers returned to Kentucky having affected no major military defeat upon their enemy.[90] They had, however, succeeded in gaining a limited degree of retribution for the losses they had suffered in the preceding months through the destruction of Indian property and foodstuffs. Moreover, Clark had finally succeeded in harnessing the disparate passions and motivations of the community in order to accomplish his personal military agenda. But just as the settlers had been motivated to strike back against the Indians for the invasion of 1780 and the hostilities of the preceding years, so too were the Indians of Ohio – who were now facing the same starving conditions the settlers had faced in 1778 – driven to strike back against their enemy, a process which started with the exhumation and desecration of all the settlers killed on the late campaign.[91] In the coming two years, the seeds laid by the fighting of 1780 would grow into some of the most violent episodes in the history of the war.

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[89] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC66
[90] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with Bland W. Ballard, October 1846' Draper Manuscripts 8J153-158
[91] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC66

In spite of the added pressure the destruction of foodstuffs placed upon the Shawnee, the tribe continued to raid Kentucky and the frontier throughout 1781 with the same determination, if not the resources, as it had previously committed.[92] Though a lack of foodstuffs likely restrained the military efforts of this tribe, other Indian groups, such as the Wyandot and Miami, appear to have intensified their own activities against the frontier in response to the settlers' invasion, effectively balancing any Shawnee deficit.[93] Throughout 1781 Indian raiding parties continued to appear, negating the victory Clark's scorched earth policy had secured and, for many, this year appeared to be as violent as any which had preceded it.[94] From Kentucky to western Virginia and western Pennsylvania, the northern tribes carried out a massive campaign of raids and expertly timed guerrilla attacks – retribution for the settlers' invasion, and a groundwork upon which settlers from across the trans-Appalachian region would seek future revenge. These continuing incursions wreaked havoc among the settlers who responded by tightening their defences, desecrating bodies, and forming ad hoc militia groups to pursue the invading raiders.[95] The level of violence in Kentucky may not have reached its 1780 level but the number of raids, deaths and captivities probably equalled those which occurred in 1779, a more than sufficient level to keep the frontier on the point of crisis. Indeed, settlers from across the western territories now turned their eyes upon the Indians with a growing ambition to extract retribution from the northern tribes. The settlers may have scored a tactical victory under Clark but many now struggled to identify its worth as raiding party after raiding party fell upon the frontier.

From 1781 onwards communal revenge would play an ever increasing role in shaping and driving the war for the frontier as renewed Indian raids plagued the trans-Appalachian country. Problematically for the pacifist Moravian Delawares this would result in the massacre of over ninety men, women, and children at the town of Gnadenhutten in 1782. Although a retaliatory campaign had been led against the Indians from western Pennsylvania in 1781 under Daniel Brodhead, his insistence that the Moravians be left unharmed produced little enduring sympathy among the revenge-starved population of the frontier. According to one disgruntled settler, Brodhead had proven through his actions that he was nothing more than a 'grovelling ignorant man' more interested in land speculation than the 'contemptible situation'

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[92] 'Letter from Colonel John Floyd to Colonel William Preston, December 8th, 1780' Draper Manuscripts 17CC133-134

[93] Wilbur H. Siebert 'Kentucky's Struggle with its Loyal Proprietors' *The Mississippi Valley Historical* Review, Vol. 7 (1920): 113-126, p. 120

[94] 'Letter from Colonel Daniel Brodhead to Samuel Irwin, February 2nd, 1781' Draper Manuscripts 3H61-65, John D. Shane 'Interview with John Dyal' Draper Manuscripts 13CC226-227

[95] 'Letter from Colonel Daniel Brodhead to Governor Thomas Jefferson, January 17th, 1781' Draper Manuscripts 3H36-67, John D. Shane 'Interview with Jacob Stevens' Draper Manuscripts 12CC133-138, John D. Shane 'Interview with an Unnamed Person' Draper Manuscripts 11CC177, and John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Ephriam January' Draper Manuscripts 11CC221-224

of those who had suffered at Indian hands; western Pennsylvania had been afflicted by many of the same forces and issues which had inspired their southern counterparts to fight the tribes.[96] It is perhaps unsurprising that historians often refer to the group who carried out this massacre, along with the settlers of the backcountry in general, as Indian-haters.[97] Although the racism implied by this concept may help to explain why the Moravians were targeted, it does not explain why the settlers sought to use such extreme levels ofs violence.[98] Even if racism against the Indians is taken as a given, it still does not follow that one of the worst – ever – settler atrocities would develop as a consequence. To assume this is to apply broad concepts from other racial contexts without sufficient consideration of the specific experiences generated by the frontier war. Slavery may have, as Philip D. Morgan has argued, demanded the use of physical coercion but it does not necessarily follow that racism, as a rule, demands the use of extreme violence.[99]

Worse still, the use of Indian-hating as an explanation is one-dimensional, denying Native Americans their agency during this period. It is important to remember that the experience of the war – the destructive influence of combat – affected both groups, creating cultural animosities on both sides of the frontier. When Thomas Rideout was taken into captivity, for instance, he noted that 'the Indian children would scream with terror and cry out "Shemanthe," meaning Virginian or big knife,' whenever they saw him.[100] More than an example of prudent caution on the part of the tribe's children, such scenes illustrate the type of lessons which Indian adults were teaching their offspring. Rideout, though a captive and completely in their power, was an object of fear for the children of the tribe, not because of

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[96] 'Letter from Alexander Fowler to President Joseph Reed, March 29th, 1781' George Washington Papers , 1741- 1799: Series Four, General Correspondence, Library of Congress

[97] Harper 'Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhutten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence,' p. 621 and Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, p. 255

[98] The construction of the Indians as a race, however, was hardly set in stone, even by this point in the war. As Patrick Griffin argues, race implies the transference of immutable characteristics from one generation to the next but the settlers were remarkably inconsistent even when it came to conceptualising the Indians in this manner. The adoption, for instance, of Indian children and orphans, such as Logan's nephew in 1774, or the Delaware child saved at Gnadenhutten, by white families suggests that some settlers failed to identify inherent racial characteristics among infants. The addition of settlers who were able to cross the cultural divide, becoming Indians and, in some cases, settlers once again does little to clear the theoretical air.
See Griffin *American Levianthan*, pp. 12-31. For the adoption and raising of Indian children see Henry Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24 and Heckewelder 'A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohoegan Indians,' p. 429. For the ability of settlers to transform into and back from Indians see Alder and Nelson (ed.) *A History of Jonathan Alder: His Captivity and Life with the Indians*

[99] Philip D. Morgan *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 385-397

[100] 'Narrative of Thomas Rideout's Captivity' Unpublished Narrative, 1811. The Ohio Memory Project (Ohio Historical Society and State Library of Ohio), Contributed by the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library, p. 52

who he was as an individual, but because of the actions of the society to which he belonged. The point being made here is that the violence produced by the war informed both settler and Indian societies, fostering conditions that encouraged both groups to engage in further hostile acts; this system was self sustaining with members of both communities informed by their violent pasts to engage in violent futures. The events of 1782, in particular, would create a system that would promote the pursuit of communal revenge on both sides of the frontier. The Gnadenhutten Massacre would ultimately create a strong desire among many Indians – particularly the Delaware and Wyandot – to extract retribution from the settlers, something they would ultimately achieve with the capture, torture, and execution of Colonel William Crawford later that year.[101] Far from bringing this episode to a close, however, Crawford's notoriously bad death would, in turn, ignite further calls for retribution among the settlers.[102]

From western Pennsylvania to Kentucky, Crawford's death was a sensation that crystallised the frontier community's need for revenge. John Knight's narrative of the event would be absorbed by Kentucky's vibrant oral culture where it would be told and retold, a story of horror which would serve to underline and contextualise the community's own experiences.[103] Upon arriving in Kentucky, Knight was able to experience local interest in his work first hand; when Marcus Richardson met Knight in Frankfort he made a point of asking the former captive to 'tell me the whole affair.' Understanding how widespread his story already was, Knight simply replied 'Oh...you have read it all – [and that] is all I can tell you.'[104] But however much Crawford's death reviled the settlers, they were certainly not alone in looking to further the cause of revenge following his failed campaign. Within two months of the Crawford's defeat a multi-tribal army, not dissimilar to that sent against Martin's and Ruddle's Stations two years previously, had already come into existence and in short order a group of around three hundred Indians crossed the Ohio that August.[105] The events which followed marked the culmination of one of the bloodiest years in the history of the war as the invading Indians first attacked Bryan's Station before laying in ambush at the Blue Licks for the inevitable Kentuckian backlash. Even as the body of an adolescent Indian was laid out in

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[101] Heckewelder 'A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohoegan Indians,' pp. 440-446

[102] 'A Letter from Hugh Henry Brackenrige to "The Public", August 3rd, 1782' and John Knight 'The Narrative of Doctor Knight' in Hugh Henry Brackenrige (ed.) *Indian Atrocities: Narratives of the Perils and Sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover, Among the Indians, During the Revolutionary War, with Short Memoirs of Colonel Crawford and John Slover* (Cincinnati: U. P. James, 1867), 'Letter from William Irvine to George Washington,
December 2nd, 1781' George Washington Papers , 1741- 1799: Series Four, General Correspondence, Library of Congress

[103] Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 142-143 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain Marcus Richardson' Draper Manuscripts 12CC126-127

[104] John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain Marcus Richardson' Draper Manuscripts 12CC127

[105] Nelson *A Man of Distinction Among Them*, p. 127

Bryan's Station as a retributive feast for the town's animals a significant – ad hoc – force of enraged settlers had already gathered in order to pursue the invaders.

Indeed, these settlers were so anxious to engage the invading Indians that they ignored almost every prudent option open to them by setting off in advance of the much larger militia band commanded by Benjamin Logan. The settlers were simply unwilling to wait the full day it would take for Logan's forces to reach their position. The subsequent settler defeat was the largest near-simultaneous loss of life to occur in Kentucky throughout the entire course of the war. Of a total force comprising around one hundred and eighty men, approximately fifteen to eighteen percent of the country's total arms bearing population, the Kentuckians lost at least seventy men in less than an hour. For the settlers of Kentucky Crawford's death may have been an outrageous affront, but the defeat of the militia at the Blue Licks marked an even more potent disaster against which the community would rally. Within two months George R. Clark, ever ready to harness the community's desire for retribution, would once again find himself at the head of a movement as approximately one thousand settlers gathered under his banner to strike back against the Indians. By the time Clark and his men set off across the Ohio River the war between the British and the Americans had effectively been over for year.[106] As the Kentuckians marched north, however, they carried with them the means through which the war on the frontier would continue rage as they, once again, revisited attack with attack, and atrocity with atrocity.

Closure

Tradition holds an interesting tale regarding Charles Bilderback, one of those who took part in the Gnadenhutten massacre. Following the atrocity Bilderback took part in Crawford's disastrous campaign against the Indians before resuming his life upon the frontier with his young wife, Rhuama. Over the succeeding years the area in which Bilderback lived came to enjoy an ever increasing degree of security as the demographically weakened Indians withdrew further west. Around 1789, however, that apparent security failed and both Bilderback and his wife were attacked before being spirited into separate captivities. Upon his arrival at his captors' town Bilderback apparently drew the suspicion of a number of Indians who enquired as to his name and past. According to tradition Bilderback was the first of the militiamen to spill blood at Gnadenhutten. Upon telling the Indians who he was his captors apparently exclaimed 'you kill Indians – you big captain – you kill Moravians' before setting

[106] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 75-80 and Houston 'A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone,' p. 22-28

about the task of his execution; Bilderback was either burned alive or heavily mutilated as a measure of atonement for his role in the massacre. Even as the 1790s were waiting to dawn, the Indians, it was said, were still spilling blood for the massacre they had endured seven years previously. Though her husband may have been guilty of taking part in one of the most ferocious massacres of the war Rhuama probably took little comfort in what, retrospectively, can be seen as a not unreasonable act of retributive justice.[107]

The story of Bilderback's death may very well be apocryphal but it nonetheless highlights a microcosm of the system that dominated the trans-Appalachian frontier during the war with the Indians. Seven years after the Gnadenhutten affair the Indians, it was said, still sought to take revenge upon those whom they could identify as its perpetrators. The cultural memory of Gnadenhutten did not merely evaporate following the death of Crawford and even those who marched against Kentucky in the late summer of 1782 could not have been ignorant of the event. Even as Gnadenhutten faded from immediate attention it left behind its own form of scar tissue that would continue to underwrite Native American life throughout the Ohio Valley for years to come. Similarly, the execution of William Crawford and the defeat of the Kentuckians at the Blue Licks both served a similar purpose south of the river. These affronts and defeats gave both sides an easily identifiable atrocity around which they could begin to refine a sense of both their own identity and an understanding of their enemy.[108] Crucially, Gnadenhutten, Crawford, and the Blue Licks affairs occurred within a much broader context of violence and strife which helped to give these incidents their larger social meaning. It was not merely Gnadenhutten or Crawford's campaign that brought the Indians down upon Kentucky in August, 1782, but such events did help to focus the already lengthening legacy of atrocities, invasion, and displacement that was already having an adverse effect upon Ohio's aboriginal communities. Likewise, the death of William Crawford and the ambush of the Kentuckians meant little in isolation, but within the broader context of seemingly unjustified aggressions, murders, and kidnappings they became far more significant. However justified the Indians' aggressions, the settlers never came to accept the actions taken by them in the name of their cause.

From 1779 until 1782 the frontier underwent one of its most formative processes as both sides, en masse, began to turn to violence not as a means to achieving a tactical end, but

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[107] Henry Howe *Historical Collections of Ohio; Containing a Collection of the most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, Etc. Relating to its General and Local History: with Descriptions of its Counties, Principal Towns and Villages* (Cincinnati: Henry Howe, at E. Morgan & Co's, 1851), pp. 160-161

[108] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 75-80 and Houston 'A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone,' p. 22-28

as a response to past acts of violence. As the 1770s drew to a close and the 1780s dawned, this situation developed into a self sustaining mechanism as each act of retribution, far from bringing any closure to the situation, instead laid the groundwork for the opposing side to seek a similar solution. The ultimate result of this escalating spiral of confrontation was the trapping of both the settlers and the Indians into a symbiotically destructive cycle that led each side to commit further and greater atrocities against the other. By the end of 1782 both the settlers and the Indians had established, through their actions, the cultural and social groundwork necessary to carry the war far beyond the end of the American Revolution. By 1783 the two opposing forces upon the frontier required little motivation to perpetuate their struggle against the other; the frontier war was a personal experience expressed by the community and it had now reached a level of confrontational critical mass that would all but ensure its perpetuation for the next decade. In the coming years attacks upon individuals, their families, and the community would continue almost without interruption. The continued destruction of family, kin and social ties would help to maintain the perceived personal nature of this war and ensure its continued ferocity. Because these interpersonal ties lay at the heart of settler society, it was their destruction that provided one of the most potent driving forces behind the community's need for revenge. Accordingly, the nature and significance of interpersonal relationships, and how they created a communal desire for retribution, will be analysed extensively in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Ties That Bind

It did not take long for the Indians to gain the upper hand at the Battle of the Blue Licks. Within minutes the settlers had found themselves caught in an expertly planned ambush, a tactical tour de force which decimated their ranks and sparked a disorganised rout. In spite of the destruction which surrounded the Kentuckians – one survivor would describe them as 'sweltering in blood' – Daniel Boone lingered on the field in order to ensure that his son, Israel, was mounted and able to make his escape.[1] Unwilling to leave his father Israel had instead lingered, an easy target for the sniper who ultimately gunned him down. Faced with the sight of his dead – or nearly dead – son, Daniel was thus confronted by one of the most potent forces on the frontier: the body of an individual to whom he shared an important emotional bond. Such sights could be incredibly affective and, like others settlers in similar situations, Boone reacted accordingly. For a time he tried to carry his son's body upon his shoulders, away from the battlefield but – exhausted by the effort – he was ultimately forced to abandon Israel. Before fleeing from the field, however, the usually restrained Boone had waited for an Indian to approach Israel and, before any attempt could be made to scalp the body, he shouted 'You be there,' fired his rifle, and killed his target.[2]

Scenes such as these were not unusual on the frontier and, at the Blue Licks, settlers watched and reacted as companions and relatives had their brains blown out, were scalped, or were gutted by stray bullets.[3] For every death suffered at the Blue Licks, ties of blood, kin, and friendship ensured that families and other close relationships all across the region were made suffer as a result. Many lives were lost at the battle, true, but many more were affected by those losses, a process which ensured that the impact of this defeat was not felt by its veterans alone. In the words John Filson would later attribute to Daniel Boone, 'The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants [of Kentucky], exceeding anything I am able to describe.'[4] Like many confrontations in the trans-Appalachian west, the Battle of the Blue Licks would serve to inspire future conflicts in the region, particularly another

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[1] Houston 'A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone,' p. 25
[2] Houston 'A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone,' p. 26 and Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 78
[3] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 76-77
[4] Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 77

campaign led by George R. Clark against the Indians of Ohio, but that desire to extract retribution found its roots not strictly on the battlefield but in the relationships forged by the region's inhabitants.

The bonds that connected parents to children, husbands to wives, and companions to companions were a powerful and often overlooked force of social action on the frontier. It was just such a bond – parental affection – that had led Daniel to place the life of his son, Israel, above his own during the calamitous Blue Licks affair, just as it was that same bond that had framed Boone's ambush of the Indian who attempted to scalp his son's body.[5] More than an incidental detail, the interpersonal relationships fostered by the settlers helped to define how they perceived the wider-world and how they interacted with the frontier war. It was that same system that would cause Samuel Brannon to go out of his way to rescue a wounded settler during the retreat at the Blue Licks, just as that same impulse gave meaning to Benjamin Netherland's actions when he rallied those around him to provide covering fire for those caught in the most vulnerable position by the collapse of the settlers' lines.[6]

Driven by a recognised commonality and an encompassing interpersonal network, the settlers undertook actions they may not have otherwise considered. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, communal retribution was a significant driving force behind the continuing war, but the existence of that system raises an implicit question in its wake. Why did violent acts by the Indians against one's family or companions inspire members of the community to respond? In order to understand why communal retribution became such an important force in the trans-Appalachian west it is necessary to understand how the settlers' interpersonal world – the relationships they shared with their peers and their families – provided the context for the revenge they would ultimately seek. By fostering potent relationships with their peers, the settlers infused the losses of the frontier war with meaning. Those who were killed were not merely settlers; they were individuals characterised by the type of relationship they shared with the conflict's survivors. Thus connected by meaningful bonds and, often, genuine mutual affection, the settlers gave meaning to their losses and in so doing gave meaning to the deaths they caused in return. Or, to put it another way, the settlers did not kill because they were 'Indian haters,' but because they sought to preserve or avenge those in whom they were personally, even emotionally, invested. In this way it was the settlers' social, family, and kin

[5] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 78-79 and Houston 'A Sketch of the Life of Daniel Boone,' p. 26

[6] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 78-79, see also John D. Shane 'Interview with Jacob Stevens' Draper Manuscripts 12CC135

networks which defined their approach to the war, an interpersonal world which turned the often indiscriminate fighting in the region into a highly personal assault.[7] In particular three core relationships sat at the heart of the community and, thus, were fundamentally connected to the ongoing conflict between the settlers and Indians; the relationship between parents and children, the relationship between husbands and wives, and the relationship between platonic companions.

In general terms, the family was the core building block upon which settler society was constructed. Migration in family groups was common, and though a large number of single men did indeed migrate to Kentucky they often did so with an eye towards starting a family of their own. In other cases it was not uncommon for the head of a family to act as a figurative and literal trailblazer, moving out ahead of their family in order to claim lands, build a cabin, and secure some basis upon which their family could be expected to prosper.[8] Indeed, the success of the family unit was a core concern for many men who invested significant energy, resources, and even emotion into this institution. William Fleming, for instance, would write often to his wife, Nancy, reflecting the value he placed in the family whose future he was trying to secure. Reflecting upon a Christmas spent alone in Kentucky, Fleming would write that 'I was here on Christmas day, a dismal contrast to that felicity I enjoyed at home. My family & Home rush'd on my mind with double force. I recalled the innocent, diverting prattle and amusements of my Children. I lamented your absence. The tender human feelings were all afloat – but I live in hope, my D[ea]r. Girl that we will yet enjoy that calm domestic happiness I regret being deprived of at present, and that we will not be separated again for such a time and to such a distance, till our setting Suns usher us to regions where we will part no more.'[9]

By investing themselves in their families, settlers defined the context in which they measured their experiences, but so too did this institution come to contextualise the dangers faced upon the frontier. Through the creation of meaningful bonds within the family,

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[7] This was a particular issue in locations such as Kentucky where the war was, per capita, seven times more deadly than the Revolution in the thirteen colonies. This resulted in a significant number of opportunities for families, kin and other social networks to be broken by the fighting. For the comparative deadliness of Kentucky see Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 144

[8] John D. Shane 'Interview with John McKinney's Family' Draper Manuscripts 11CC25, John D. Shane 'Interview with Leptha Kemper' Draper Manuscripts 12CC127, John D. Shane 'Interview with Jonas Hedge' Draper Manuscripts 12CC213, Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 59-60, Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 44-52

[9] 'Letter from William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, January 10th, 1785' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society, see also 'Letter from William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, October 13th, 1779' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society, 'Letter from William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, December 3rd, 1779' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society and 'Letter from William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, December 26th, 1779' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society

individual settlers became vulnerable through their destruction. In particular, the bond between parent and child was a highly formative one and, regardless of age, parents often demonstrated vulnerability when their offspring were endangered, injured, or killed. Although the sheer distance which separated Fleming from his own father – who lived in Dumfries, Scotland – posed a significant barrier to their relationship, Leonard Fleming nevertheless expressed his 'most dismall apprehensions' when he read that his son had been among the wounded at the Battle of Point Pleasant.[10] Similarly, when Israel Boone was killed at the Battle of the Blue Licks his father reflected the nature of their relationship in the manner in which he acted following his son's death; 'Father used to be deeply affected, even to tears, when he spoke of the Blue Licks defeat and the death of his son,' Nathan Boone would later recall.[11] Such an emotional reaction did more than reflect the type of connection felt by this father towards his progeny. It reflected the failure of the frontier war to promote familial fatalism. Evidently Boone's exposure to continuous conflict had not dampened his ability to feel, particularly towards his children.[12] Although this group was especially vulnerable, there is little evidence to suggest that the experience of war caused parents on the frontier to blunt the level of affection which bound them to their offspring. Indeed, the death or kidnapping of child was an event that could be fundamental in its impact upon the both the parent and the larger family group.[13] When Jonathan Alder finally returned to his family decades after being taken into captivity, the reaction of his siblings and mother spoke volumes: 'My mother arose from her seat and threw her arms around my neck and kissed me. She...was unable to speak for a short time, but the first words she said were "Jonathan, how you have grown," whilst tears freely rolled down her cheeks.' At this same meeting Alder was reunited with his brother

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[10] 'Letter from Leonard Fleming, January 17th, 1775' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society

[11] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 78

[12] Daniel Boone revelled in the joy he gained from playing with and, sometimes, teasing his descendents. During his twilight days, he made a point of comforting his six and four year grandchildren who visited, promising to pick hazelnuts with them when he was well enough to do so. Somewhat more devious was the construction of his coffin which he stored in Nathan Boone's home 'greatly to the fear of all the little folks in the house.' Boone appears to have revelled in the mock terror he inspired among 'the little folks.' See Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 137-138. See also the compassionate reaction of Henry Jolly's mother to the Indian child recovered from the Yellow Creek massacre, Jolly 'Account of Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24

[13] For the importance of sibling and wider family relationships see 'Letter from Margret Fleming to William Fleming, January, 1762' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society, 'Letter from Margret Fleming to Nancy Fleming, July 14th, 1763' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society, John D. Shane 'Interview with Isaac Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC1, and Mary Kinnan *True Narrative of Mary Kinnan, Who Was Taken by the Shawnee-Nation of Indians on the Thirteenth Day of May, 1791, and Remained With Them Till the Sixteenth of August, 1794* (Elizabethtown: Shepard Kollock, 1795), pp. 12-14

who, 'After giving me a hearty shake by both hands...left the room to give vent to his feelings.'[14]

More than a highly emotive ordeal, the loss of a child could prove to be incredibly destructive. When Thomas Baldwin's family was decimated by an Indian raiding party in 1783 it triggered a series of events which would ultimately culminate in Baldwin's withdrawal from society.[15] Like many others in Kentucky, Baldwin was already tied to the larger system of communal retribution that was coming to define the country by the end of the American Revolution. Present at the Battle of the Blue Licks, and a member of the party which buried the dead following the battle, Baldwin had readily volunteered to take part in Clark's subsequent campaign against the Shawnee. Recognising that this expedition had likely made the Indians 'still more enraged against the whites,' Baldwin would later come to regret the action, believing that the settlers' invasion had brought the Indians to seek 'new opportunities to revenge themselves.' Having taken part in Clark's campaign because of the disastrous affair at the Blue Licks, Baldwin came to recognise that the settlers' subsequent actions north of the Ohio had laid the groundwork upon which further retribution would be sought. Indeed, it was a chance meeting with an Indian 'by whom [he] was recognised as a member of Colonel Clark's party,' which ultimately led to the raid which destroyed his family.[16] Reflecting upon their deaths in 1835, Baldwin would relate that '[I] had a clear and melancholy view of the fate of each unfortunate member of my family,' as they ran from their burning home and into the ambush that had been laid for them. According to Baldwin, the sight of his wife and children running into an Indian trap, whilst he was engaged in the lengthy process of reloading his rifle, 'presented a spectacle, heart-rending in the extreme to a husband and a parent, who could afford them no assistance!' Unable to render them any aid, Baldwin could only watch as one of his sons was scalped alive. Following this initial attack Baldwin and his surviving children were taken to an Indian town, whereupon his eldest son was burned alive. 'What at that moment were my feelings,' he would later ask rhetorically, 'I shall not attempt to describe.' Tellingly, he added that 'parents alone can judge!'[17]

Following the destruction of his family, Baldwin withdrew to a secluded part of the country and, effectively, cut himself off from the rest of settler society. In some ways Baldwin's actions were not unusual; at least in so much as they reflect how the violent

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[14] Alder and Nelson (ed.) *A History of Jonathan Alder*, pp. 137-138
[15] Thomas Baldwin and Anonymous (ed.) *Narrative of the Massacre, by the Savages, of the Wife and Children of Thomas Baldwin, Who, Since the Melancholy Period of the Destruction of his Unfortunate Family, has Dwelt entirely Alone, in a Hut of his own Construction, Secluded from Human Society, in the Extreme Western Part of the State of Kentucky* (New York: Martin and Wood, 1835), pp. 20-24
[16] Baldwin *Narrative of Thomas Baldwin*, pp. 6-7
[17] ibid, pp. 8-11

destruction of one's family, particularly children, could lead to a radical reaction.[18] That said, Baldwin's specific response was relatively distinct but extreme mental distress brought about by the destruction of one's children was hardly uncommon. When one Mrs. Martin was taken into captivity she suffered an intense psychological ordeal on her journey to the Indian towns. En route her weak child was carried off by one of their captors who returned shortly afterwards with its scalp hanging from his belt. According to one of Mrs. Martin's fellow captives, 'She commenced screaming and hallooing and crying "My child! My child! My child!"...the Indian stepped up to her and bade her hush, but she paid no attention to him whatever, but still screamed and hallooed. He then drew his butcher knife from its scabbard and caught her by the hair and slapped the edge of his knife against her forehead and hallooed, "Sculp! Sculp!" She paid no attention to him, but held perfectly still as though she was willing that the man might scalp or kill her and kept screaming and crying.' Far from indifferent, Martin appears to have acted in a suicidal manner following the murder of her offspring.[19]

In a similar incident, Mary Kinnan, whose family was attacked by a raiding party in 1791, would later recall the impact the sight of her dead child had upon her. 'What a scene presented itself to me! My child; scalped and slaughtered, smiled even then.' According to Kinnan, this episode 'precipitated me to the verge of madness,' a process which led her to entertain thoughts of suicide: 'I became indifferent to my existence; I was willing to bid adieu to that world, whence all the lovely relatives of life were borne before me...I['d] ha[ve] terminated my existence by my own hand.'[20] The death of infant children, then, was certainly no incidental matter for many parents, a vivid contrast to the image presented by Philippe Ariès in his monumental study of early modern family life, *Centuries of Childhood*.[21] Rather than emphasising the importance of emotional bonds between parents and children, Ariès and his academic successors have instead argued that the links between family members in the early modern period were very weak indeed.[22] This idea has been developed by a number of subsequent historians, giving Ariès' thesis its enduring significance.[23] In particular, the works of Ivy Pinchbeck, Margaret Hewitt, and Edward Shorter have built upon many of Ariès vaguer ideas, refining both his concept and evidence methodology. Pinchbeck and Hewitt, for instance, argued that particular conditions, such as high infant mortality rates, necessitated

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[18] Ibid, p. 16
[19] Alder and Nelson (ed.) *A History of Jonathan Alder*, p. 34
[20] Kinnan *True Narrative of Mary Kinnan*, p. 6
[21] For the enduring significance of Ariès work see Vann 'The Youth of Centuries of Childhood,' pp. 279-297
[22] Philippe Ariès *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books/Random House, 1963) Translated from the French by Robert Baldick, pp. 38-39
[23] Vann 'The Youth of Centuries of Childhood,' pp. 283-288

limited levels of bonding between children and adults whereas Shorter develops the discussion even further by arguing that the family unit as a whole was often, at least until the end of the nineteenth century, an 'affectionless' institution.[24] The idea that family members were emotionally distant is exemplified by Elizabeth Badinter who came to argue that 'at best the child was unimportant. At worst, he aroused fear.'[25]

In the context of American history, the ideas and concepts put forward by this group of largely European historians have certainly had a significant impact. John Demos, for instance, reiterates Ariès basic thesis regarding the non-existence of childhood almost wholesale in his book, *A Little Commonwealth*.[26] In his book, *Huck's Raft,* Steven Mintz again looks to the concept of Ariès' familial discontinuity in order to demonstrate the changing nature of childhood, but at the very least Mintz also goes so far as to argue that parents did indeed mourn for their dead children.[27] This latter issue is one of the most important debates surrounding the nature of the family as a failure to mourn, or to feel, for one's lost progeny would remove a massive part of the emotional drive that could, in turn, lead to significant personal reactions on the frontier.[28] This debate, like the wider issues which surround it, has never been satisfactorily resolved not least because of the apparently contradictory evidence used by both sides to support their arguments. It is one thing, for example, to show a source that appears to depict a mourning parent, but it is equally possible to demonstrate that many parents, particularly in colonial America, sought to raise their children first by 'breaking [their] wills' through harsh, physical punishment, an act which appears to underline parental distance.[29] It is certainly no easy task to demonstrate consistent emotional attachments between parents and children but, in spite of the arguments put for forward by Ariès and

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[24] Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt *Children in English Society: From Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century, Volume 1* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 7-13, 300-301 and Edward Shorter *The Making of the Early Modern Family* (London: William Collins and Son, 1976), pp. 5, 54-57

[25] Elizabeth Badineter *The Myth of Motherhood* (Paris: Souvenir Press (E &A), 1981) translated by Roger DeGaris, pp. 20-30

[26] John Demos *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 57-58, and Vann 'The Youth of Centuries of Childhood,' p. 287

[27] Steven Mintz *Huck's Raft: A History of Childhood in America* (Cambridge and London: University of Harvard Press, 2004), pp. vii-xi

[28] For the far reaching impact of Ariès' ideas, particularly his assertion that parents did not necessarily mourn for their offspring, see Mark Golden 'Did the Ancients Care when their Children Died?' *Greece and Rome*, Vol. 35 (1988): 152-163

[29] Philip J. Greven 'Foreward' in James Marten (ed.) *Children in Colonial America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), pp. ix-xi. For a more detailed discussion on Greven's analysis related to the breaking of a child's will see Philip J. Greven *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992)

those who have followed in his theoretical wake, the concept of the relatively affectionless society has come under some significant criticism and cannot be taken as a given.[30]

Indeed, accounts such as those concerning Baldwin, Kinnan and Martin immediately suggest that these ideas are problematic when applied in the context of the trans-Appalachian west.[31] Of course, these examples also demonstrate that further violence was not necessarily a product of infanticide, but they provide reminders that the death of a child could be a fundamental experience in the west.[32] It should also be remembered that in societies with strong oral traditions, stories of deeply felt losses did not exist in a vacuum and the experiences of even a single ordeal survivor could create strong impressions among the larger community.[33] Perhaps adults did, as Ariès and his successors have argued, share an indifferent relationship with children, but as an abstract body. Even then, however, it does not follow that parents viewed children individually – particularly their own – in the same manner. Even Puritan parents, known for meting out harsh physical punishments, did so as a means to guide their children towards heaven.[34] Indifference towards children may have existed in some instances west of the Appalachians, but the available evidence suggests it was hardly the state de facto. Indeed, the fate of the country's children was a core concern for many and was even used as a rallying call by the inhabitants of Jefferson County when that region became the focus of intensified Indian raids throughout 1786: 'we apply to you for aid to revenge the injuries we have already suffered and to prevent those with which we are everyday threatened. We lament the horrid occasion which subjects us to the dire necessity of applying to our friends to leave their peaceful abodes and enter on scenes at which humanity wou'd shudder, were it not in defence of the lives of ourselves, our wives and helpless infants.'[35]

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[30] Linda Pollock *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). For criticisms of Pollock's use of source material – a criticism she levied at the works of Ariès et al – see Colin Heywood *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), p. 7. For a discussion on child mortality rates, a key component of this debate, see Joel E. Cohen 'Childhood Mortality, Family Size and Birth Order in Pre-Industrial Europe' *Demography*, Vol. 12 (1975): 35-55, pp. 47-51. For the lack of resolution surrounding the issues which make up the core parts of this debate see Vann 'The Youth of Centuries of Childhood,' pp. 281-297

[31] For examples of parents in the trans-Appalachian region demonstrating emotional investment in the children's wellbeing see Jolly 'Account of Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24, 'Letter from William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, January 10th, 1785' Fleming-Edmunds Papers A/F 597, Filson Historical Society, and Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 137-138

[32] The Quakers of Pennsylvania demonstrated that affection between family members need not necessarily be transformed by physical violations into a need or desire for further confrontation, see Mintz *Huck's Raft*, p. 49. See also Fischer *Albion*'s *Seed*, pp. 419-603

[33] For the impact of survivors upon oral tradition see the account of Mrs. McCutcheon's ordeal in John D. Shane 'Interview with George Fearis' Draper Manuscripts 13CC38-44

[34] Mintz *Huck's Raft*, p. ix

[35] 'Appeal for Aid Against the Indians, a Petition to the Inhabitants of Lincoln and Fayette Counties, July 1786' Bullitt Family Papers A/B 937c, Filson Historical Society

In broad terms, intense investment in the wellbeing of children, primarily one's own, not only distressed parents who survived their children, but also created new opportunities for confrontations. When Jemima Boone along with Betsy and Fanny Calloway were kidnapped in 1776, for instance, the investment of the girls' parents in their wellbeing was demonstrated by the rescue attempt that followed. The risks involved in their recovery – death, captivity, mutilation, or even being burned alive – are simply too difficult to explain away unless the girls were invested with a degree of genuine value. It should be remembered that the success which accompanied this rescue was remarkable and it is no coincidence that these events would form the basis of a similar episode in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* several decades later.[36] Put simply, the settlers who embarked upon this rescue had everything to lose by doing so and, as such, their actions reflect the true value invested in these captives. Indeed, Daniel Boone was so desperate to have his daughter returned to him that he did not stop long enough to put on moccasins before setting off to recover her whilst Richard Calloway's very public concern for his daughters' wellbeing likewise reflected the importance of the parent-child bond as a driving force behind their recovery.[37]

Attempts to recover captive family members were not unusual and though such episodes often ended in tragedy they nevertheless highlight the importance of the family bond.[38] For most settlers the capture of a family member by the Indians was probably one of the most distressing outcomes of the war. Rather than being presented with a body, survivors could potentially expect to spend years not knowing whether their family had survived, or whether or not they had been converted into white Indians.[39] This was the situation in which Israel Hartgrove found himself after his family was decimated by an Indian raid. Having failed in his attempt to rescue his children, Israel thus spent years attempting to uncover their fate, the type of action one would not expect from someone indifferent to their offspring. Indeed, Hartgrove would not be reunited with one of his children, a son, until he attended a treaty negotiation two decades later to see if the boy, who was now fully grown, was 'yet living.' Even when the younger Hartgrove was returned to Israel, the family did not remain together long as the young man, by now far more attached to his Indian acquaintances than his long-lost father, returned to the tribes. Even this, however, did not prevent Israel from continuing

[36] Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 331
[37] Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 139, in particular see the Robert Wickliffe quote
[38] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Boyd' Draper Manuscripts 12CC58-59 and Kinnan *True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan*, pp. 12-14
[39] Baldwin *Narrative of Thomas Baldwin*, p. 18

to seek out news of his estranged son's wellbeing. Eventually he was able to discover that his boy resided safely among the Potawatomie.[40]

During the two decades Israel spent hunting for his son, he must have faced the possibility that his boy had been killed by his captors. Like many others in a similar situation, what compounded this possibility was the settlers' cultural knowledge of their adversary; had he been killed by the Indians it was entirely possible that the younger Hartgrove's end would have been a protracted, living horror. One can only speculate whether or not Israel was haunted by the thought of William Crawford and his bad death in 1782, for instance. Had the thought of his son's fate among the Indians given Hartgrove sleepless nights, Mary Rowlandson would probably have been able to identify with such post-raid hardships.[41] But even if Crawford's ghost never bothered Israel's thoughts, the settlers had a wide cultural knowledge of Indian wartime practices which almost certainly underpinned Hartgrove's perspective of his son's fate. For more than a century and a half, captivity narratives had helped to lay a cultural foundation upon which Indian wartime atrocities could be understood but, more importantly, the fundamentally oral nature of backcountry culture meant that tales from across the frontier were able to spread far, becoming a fundamental part of how the settlers understood their enemies. Tom McQueen, for instance, was taken captive on William Crawford's ill fated campaign and made to run the gauntlet, an experience he freely shared with others. According to his brother, 'There was not a sound place in his head when he got through.'[42] The idea that captured settlers were burned alive, mistreated, or murdered was not an uncommon one.[43]

The bond between parent and child, then, was one worth fighting for, particularly as the settlers fostered a strong impression as to what might occur to their children if captured; less abstract than a fear of captivity was the knowledge that the a child's age would not necessarily offer them protection from a raiding party. Indeed, numerous accounts of murdered children were delivered to oral historians, though there is no real way to tell how many children ultimately became victims of Indian attacks. In some ways, however, that number is not important. What was important was the settlers' practice of integrating tales of infanticide into their oral tradition, allowing accounts of even a few such incidents to become

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[40] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Boyd' Draper Manuscripts 12CC59-61

[41] Rowlandson *A Narrative of the Captivity, Suffering, and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, p. 118

[42] John D. Shane 'Interview with Joshua McQueen' Draper Manuscripts 13CC115-129

[43] Even a cursory glance through John Shane's interview collection will demonstrate that the settlers had a strong awareness of the realities of Indian warfare and the consequence of confrontation, capture and captivity. See John D. Shane Interviews, Draper Manuscripts 11CC, 12CC, 13CC, 16CC, and 17CC. For a specific example see the fears which plagued Richard Calloway following the capture of his daughters, Faragher *Daniel Boone*, p. 139

core components of their larger world view.[44] The murder of Captain Guess' young daughter in 1782, for instance, may or may not be indicative of a wave of child murders on the frontier, but it was, nevertheless, a story repeated time and again by the settlers, evidence in their eyes that the only way to ensure the security of one's offspring was through the defeat of those who *might* threaten them.[45]

In a similar way, the threat posed by the Indians to marital partners was equally important to the development of society across the trans-Appalachian west. Like parents and children, spouses were often connected by bonds of affection which could, when threatened or broken, form the basis of future attitudes towards the Indians. The relationship between husband and wife did not necessarily evolve from a close personal connection, nor did it necessarily result in the development of one.[46] There is, however, a significant amount of evidence which suggests that, in Kentucky and other western regions, there was, first, a bond of affection between many marital partners and that, secondly, the breaking or endangerment of that bond could have a fundamental impact upon the surviving spouse. When an injured Alexander McConnell returned after having gone missing in the wilderness for several days, such a bond was demonstrated when 'His wife ran out to meet him, but they had to carry her in, [as] she fainted away, overjoyed.'[47] Sally Wilcox had something of an even more distressing experience when she watched her new husband, Daniel, being chased by a party of Indians. Apparently terrified that she might lose him, she had cried out to him 'Run, Daniel, Run!' Hoping to will her husband to safety, Wilcox had 'hallooed to him as hard as she could.' According to one witness of this event, Sally 'hadn't been long married and she didn't want to lose him.'[48] Similarly, when John Hayden went missing on a hunting trip one of his wife's companions noted that she 'looked like she would go distracted,' from worry.[49]

Although not the focus of most documents, the reflexive responses shown by many settlers to the news that their partner had been killed are a source unto themselves which helps to shed much light upon the type of relationships that existed between married partners

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[44] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Hedge' Draper Manuscripts 11CC21, John D. Shane 'Interview with John McKinney's Family' Draper Manuscripts 11CC25, John D. Shane 'Interview with James Brackenridge' Draper Manuscripts 11CC37, John D. Shane 'Interview with George Fearis' Draper Manuscripts 13CC238-244, 'Letter from Rebecca Lemond to Lyman C. Draper, March 22nd, 1853' Draper Manuscripts 22C41, John D. Shane 'Interview with William Niblick' Draper Manuscripts 11CC84-85, John D. Shane 'Interview with William Boyd' Draper Manuscripts 12CC58-59

[45] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC109, John D. Shane 'Interview with John Gass' Draper Manuscripts 11CC15, Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 79-80, Joseph Proctor 'Estill's Defeat', pp. 3-4, Smith *The History of Kentucky*, p. 188-189

[46] John D. Shane 'Interview with Jacob Stevens' Draper Manuscripts 12CC135-136

[47] John D. Shane 'Interview with Jane Stevenson' Draper Manuscripts 13CC142-143

[48] John D. Shane 'Interview with an Unnamed Person' Draper Manuscripts 11CC177

[49] John D. Shane 'Interview with a Unnamed Person in Cincinnati' Draper Manuscripts 11CC279-283

in this region. When Mrs. Brown was brought the body of her dead husband she 'examined him over very carefully, fondly, at first without a tear. Then suddenly [she] gave way to her grief.'[50] Brown's sorrow at the death of her husband was not merely the expression of a woman who had lost a provider, but the outward expression of a woman who had lost something far more important. The wife of John Smith acted in a similar manner when she was delivered the news that her husband had been killed. According to Doctor Louis Marshall, who was present with Smith when she received the news, 'she gave the most piercing shriek that I ever heard.'[51] When Michael Mitchell was shot and killed by the Indians, his wife appears to have dealt with the loss in stages by first letting it be known that 'she was very thankful [the Indians] had not shot him in the eye,' and later that 'she would rather they killed her cow, "Pretty."' Although the comparison to the cow may appear crude at first glance, Mrs. Mitchell was in actuality demonstrating to her contemporaries that Michael had been the most important thing in her life. Her neighbour, Joseph Ficklin, understood this well as he witnessed her express her anguish physically by 'lamenting and wringing her hands' afterwards.[52] Such emotional turmoil was not necessarily a short term of fleeting concern; following William Christian's death in 1786, his newly widowed wife retired from the frontier with their children but future happiness was elusive. Mrs. Christian's health deteriorated rapidly in the east leading one contemporary, Judge Campbell, to remark that 'he had never known weakness in her before.' In order to explain her ever worsening condition, Campbell went on to note that 'her grieving for her husband,' was so intense that it was beginning to 'injure her health.' Whether a reasonable medical explanation or not, Campbell essentially attributed her death shortly afterwards to a broken heart.[53]

Fear for one's spouse was thus an important component of many frontier marriages. Fear of separation through death or captivity were realities that had to be dealt with and assimilated into world views but, significantly, these interpersonal realties were shared with the Indians. Although it is easy to emphasise the difference between them during this period, the interpersonal worlds of the settlers and Indians demonstrate a considerable degree of overlap. Race, the political landscape, economic factors, cultural hatred, and contention over landownership have been used by historians such as Woody Holton, John Mack Faragher, Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall to frame the war on the trans-Appalachian frontier.[54] This conflict was not, however, one driven purely by difference. Indeed, it was the similarities

[50] John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain John Wilson' Draper Manuscripts 17CC6-25
[51] John D. Shane 'Interview with Doctor Louis Marshall' Draper Manuscripts 16CC239-247
[52] John D. Shane 'Interview with Joseph Ficklin' Draper Manuscripts 16CC257-285
[53] 'Letter from Eliza Ramsey to Lyman C. Draper, February 22nd, 1843' Draper Manuscripts 8ZZ4
[54] Holton *Forced Founders,* pp. 3-38,Farager *Daniel Boone*, pp. 98-99, and Hinderaker and Mancall *At the Edge of Empire*, pp. 161-163

between the Indians' and the settlers' interpersonal worlds that formed the background for much of the everyday fighting that defined the war. As with sources which deal primarily with the settlers, some of the most vivid evidence for the existence of emotional family connections appears where those bonds were threatened or broken. In his account of Henry Bouquet's 1764 expedition into Ohio, William Smith described in vivid detail an emotional prisoner exchange following the conclusion of Pontiac's Rebellion. According to Smith, the Indians 'as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene.'[55]

Prisoners of war they may have been, but the relationship between captor and captive was never straight forward in the aboriginal world. As the lives of Mary Jemison and John Tanner demonstrate, it was entirely possible for white captives to fully participate in the Indian sphere, not as captives, but as equals.[56] Accordingly, Smith recognised not just the joyful reunification of settler families – 'father and mothers [were to be seen] recognising and clasping their once-lost babies; husbands hanging around the necks of their newly recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after a long separation' – but the decimation of equally potent relationships between the Indians and their onetime captives. 'They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance,' Smith would write shortly after this incident, 'shed[ing] torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer.' In short, the former captives were 'accompanied with...all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection.'[57] Indeed, many of the Indians followed the army after it departed, supplying their adoptive family members with game which they hunted on their behalf. In one particularly potent instance, a Mingo warrior, who 'would make a figure even in romance,' refused to abandon the army – and his now redeemed Virginian wife – even as they neared the settlements. 'Against all remonstrances of the imminent danger,' Smith would later write, this Indian strove to fulfil his 'instance of love,' in spite of the 'risk of being killed by the surviving relations of many unfortunate persons, who had been captived or scalped by those in his nation.'[58]

All at once Smith made one of the most astute observations of the late colonial period, recognising the link between familial bonds and the desire to attain physical revenge. Moreover, Smith's vantage point at the prisoner exchange had given him a much sharper

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[55] William Smith *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Among the Ohio Indians, in 1764* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, & Co., 1868), p. 76

[56] James E. Seaver *The Life of Mary Jemison: Deh-Ah-Wa-Mi* (New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan, 1856) and Tanner and James (ed.) *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*

[57] William Smith *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Among the Ohio Indians, in 1764* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, & Co., 1868), pp. 76-77

[58] ibid

understanding of the tragedy of the larger situation; unlike most of those who had lost or suffered at Indian hands, Smith had been granted an opportunity to recognise in the Indians the same level of familial affection which he recognised among his own people. Reflecting upon the sheer level of devotion he had witnessed during the prisoner exchange, Smith would write that 'Those qualities in savages challenge our just esteem. They should make us charitably consider their barbarities as the effects of wrong education, and false notions of bravery and heroism...Cruel and unmerciful as they are, by habit and long example, in war, yet whenever they come to give way to the native dictates of humanity, they exercise virtues which Christians need not blush to imitate.'[59]

Or, to put it another way, Smith recognised that the settlers and Indians shared a common method of building, maintaining and engaging with their families. Moreover, this recognition demonstrated to Smith a common ground of humanity even as he recognised the power of broken emotional bonds to spark demands for retribution. For Smith, the affection between husband and wife, or between parent and child, was self evident. Among the Shawnee, he noted that some prisoners – particularly women – had to be bound and forced to return to the settlers. It appears, however, that the affection which some of them maintained for their Indian husbands won out the day; 'some women, who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintances at parting, and continued for many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance.'[60] Indian or settler, familial bonds mattered. It drove individuals to cross cultural divides, to estrange themselves from the society into which they were born, whilst inspiring others still to seek physical revenge.

In a similar vein, Indians demonstrated attitudes towards their children that were not dissimilar to those demonstrated by the settlers.[61] The tribes of the Ohio country may have lacked their own Shane or Draper, but they were observed, measured, and judged by the federal government during the early nineteenth century and even these later – often highly racist – observations serve to reinforce the idea that strong bonds tied Indian parents to their offspring.[62] Although confirmed in his racial view of the world, and hence the Indians, Henry R.

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[59] Ibid, pp. 77-78
[60] Ibid, p. 80
[61] Tanner and James *A Narrative of John Tanner*, p. 31, see also R. Todd Romero 'Colonizing Childhood: Religion, Gender, and Indian Children in Southern New England, 1620-1720' in James Marten (ed.) *Children in Colonial America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007): 33-45
[62] For examples of nineteenth century tribal studies or commentaries see James Mooney *Myths of the Cherokee* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995) originally published as part of the *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1897-98: in Two Parts – Part One* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900) and George W. Maypenny *Our Indian Wards* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880)

Schoolcraft, in his governmental study of the Algonquin peoples in the mid-nineteenth century, went so far as to argue that the presence of strong family ties among the Indians was such that it was 'proof...that the obligations of the [family] tie...are inherent in the nature of human society, and were implanted in the breast of man to uphold the laws of purity and virtue.' Making this point even more bluntly, Schoolcraft argued that 'It is this trait, indeed, that disarms barbarism of half its repulsiveness, and gives to this erratic and benighted branch of the species, their best claims to our sympathies and benevolence.'[63] Schoolcraft emphasised the relationship between parent and child among the Indians, relaying in his work a tradition which underlined the sheer depth of emotion that bound the Indian family together. According to the tradition passed on to Schoolcraft, the seventeenth century war between the Fox and Chippewas resulted in the capture of a young man named Bi-ans-wah, the son of an 'aged chief of the Chippewas.' Upon discovering his son's fate, Bi-ans-wah's father set off for the Fox town where he arrived in time to witness the construction of the fire which was intended to 'roast [his son] alive.' According to tradition, Bi-ans-wah's father 'stepped boldly' into the village of his enemies where he delivered a speech which convinced the town's inhabitants to place him, not his son, upon the fire; Bi-ans-wah was thus saved from the flame by the sacrifice of his father. According to Schoolcraft 'Such are the severities of savage warfare, amidst which the family tie is maintained with a heroism which has no parallel in civilized life.'[64]

For the settlers acts of paternal devotion, even among their enemies, could become the stuff of legend or, at least, oral tradition. The sacrifice of an Indian father during Josiah Harmar's campaign against the northern tribes in 1790, for instance, would be described by one witness as 'heroism and devotion not more than equalled, I think, by any thing of the kind to be met with in Greek or Roman story.'[65] For the most part such recognition was possible because acts of parental or communal devotion reflected many of the settlers own values, a series of ideas and interpersonal connections which bound not only the family, but non-related members of the community as well. Platonic companionship may have lacked the ties of blood and kinship which underlined connections within the family but the close quarter contact demanded by life within the country's fortified towns – or between those fighting to survive in

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[63] Henry R. Schoolcraft *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Per Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1847* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1853), p. 48

[64] Schoolcraft *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* pp. 49-50

[65] David H. Morris 'A Sketch of Gen. Harmar's Campaign in 1790 by David H. Morris, Sen. Who was last Sargeant in Capt. Joseph Ashton's Company, of that Expdition' *Troy Times* (Troy, January 17th, 1840), Ohio Historical Society VFM 4852

the wilderness – helped to negate any such deficit.[66] Indeed, the relationships forged between non-related settlers could be intensely close, rivalling and possibly even surpassing some of those between family members.[67] When Neely McGuire was shot and killed in the wilderness 'T'was said,' his friend, John Cocky Owings, 'cried powerfully about it.' Emotional ties may be easily cultivated within the family but they could also be cultivated among other social groups and, on the frontier, those bonds often served to define companionship. When John Owings cried for the loss of McGuire, he was demonstrating the depth of the bonds which could bind non-related individuals. Blood may be thicker than water, but it was not necessarily thicker than the connections which the settlers forged amongst themselves.[68]

Whether the groups were comprised of men, women, or even mixed gender bands, the realities of frontier life demanded that non-related settlers spend extended periods of time together, very often in close contact with one another.[69] For many men, time spent in ad hoc militia bands pursuing Indians was often the theatre in which their bonds were forged, whilst for most women it was the close contact afforded by fortified settlements, particularly when the men of a given town were away hunting Indians, which helped to facilitate their non-familial connections.[70] Even these rules, however, were not hard and fast. Thrust closer

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[66] For the impact of close quarter living on the settlers see Perkins *Borderlife*, pp. 62-65

[67] Anonymous 'On Loosing a Friend [sic]' *The Kentucky Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1800* (Lexington: John Bradford, 1800), pp. 6-8

[68] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 29

[69] Although Elizabeth Perkins spends much time in her study of the Ohio Valley emphasising difference and social division, she does – later – recognise the importance of commonality among the group, including the importance of local circumstance in overcoming the divisions she identifies among the larger population. Still, division remains the key component of her study and though she makes a number of interesting observations regarding the heterogeneous aspects of the frontier community, her analysis of the factors which overcome social divisions are left wanting. In a chapter devoted to societal construction, little more than a page covers the factors which overcame division, even though she makes the rather bold statement that 'identities of inclusion are equally crucial in defining the social landscape.' To be sure, Perkins acknowledges that local conditions in the west could alter the incoming social divisions carried by the diverse migrant population but she rarely engages with the full implications of that change, or the process behind it. More than an afterthought, the process of community making which Perkins acknowledges (but engages with only briefly) was one of the key social processes tied to the frontier war. For Perkins' analysis of division within the community see Perkins *Borderlife*, pp. 81-115, for Perkins' brief analysis of community formation linked to the war see Perkins Borderlife, pp. 111-115, particularly pages 114-115.

[70] Although Joan Cashin does primarily deals with planter families, she does emphasise the importance of female kin networks on the frontier. See Joan E. Cashin *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 78-98. For the significance of ad hoc militia activities see John D. Shane 'Interview with Colonel James Lane' Draper Manuscripts 12CC55-57, William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC80, John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC60, John D. Shane 'Interview with Robert Jones' Draper Manuscripts 13CC151-165, 176-181, John D. Shane 'Interview with John Dyal' Draper Manuscripts 13CC226-227. For life inside fortified settlements, particularly women, see John D. Shane 'Interview with Jane Stevenson' Draper manuscripts 13CC135-143 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Sarah Graham' Draper Manuscripts 12CC45-53

together by circumstance and a limited geographic space, men and women were able to forge meaningful platonic friendships within the confines of the frontier town. There was, for example, nothing sexual in the relationship between Billy Rayburn and the wife of William Clinkenbeard, but that did not stop Mrs. Clinkenbeard from spending several hours picking 'a great many thorns out of him' after an angry buffalo had chased Rayburn through a patch of honey locust.[71] Similarly, when Simon Kenton appeared on the doorstep of the Boone household in 1809, years after their shared experiences in Kentucky, Daniel's wife, overjoyed at the sight of him, kissed their old compatriot without reservation. Rumor of an alleged affair with one of Daniel's brothers notwithstanding, there is no reason to suspect that this gesture was anything but evidence of a long, enduring, and important friendship.[72] When Mrs. Shankin's father first arrived in Kentucky in 1775 he was aware of only four women in the entire country and, through necessity and close contact, became closely acquainted with them during the time he spent at Harrodsburgh. As it turned out, four women was the minimum number of female participants required to carry out a four handed reel. Whilst the excess number of men at the fort watched for Indians, 'the rest alternatively danced,' with the town's women ignoring, for a time, the escalating threat posed by the growing war.

Of course, such close contact very often led to opportunities for courtship and marriage, allowing one social structure to develop from another. When John McIntyre led a company to defend Strode's Station one of the town's women made a point of thanking him for the security he and his men had been able to offer; 'Oh, said he, you have no need to thank me.' Turning to one of his companions, he confessed, 'she may be my wife yet.' The pair did indeed marry some short time later.[73] The possibility of a romantic entanglement or marriage was certainly present when men and women spent any amount of time together in the close quarters of a frontier fort but relationships which spanned genders did not need to have a sexual component. Just as William Clinkenbeard's wife did what she could to relieve Billy Rayburn of the thorns he had accumulated in his person following a chase by a buffalo, so too did other settlers, regardless of gender, attempt to offer one another relief from the outside world without sexual expectation. It was in this communal spirit that Daniel Boone once gave a tract of land to a girl who had recently been orphaned and, presumably, left with little or nothing else to her name.[74]

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[71] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Clinkenbeard' Draper Manuscripts 11CC57
[72] Lyman C. Draper 'Interview with John and Sarah Kenton McCord' Draper Manuscripts 5S172 and Lyman C. Draper 'interview with William M. Kenton' Draper Manuscripts 5S125, for Rebecca Boone's alleged infidelity see John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' 12CC99
[73] John D. Shane 'Interview with Daniel Deron' Draper Manuscripts 12CC242
[74] Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 116-117

The community, then, was informed by the existence of a significant interpersonal network, a reality which meant that the death of a given settler could affect very larger numbers, even entire townships. When John Wymore was shot and scalped outside of McConnell's Station all those within the fort shared similar feelings when his fate became known to them. When the town's women began to cry they did so because they were all enduring the same ordeal, and when Wymore's body was retrieved they, along with the town's men, gathered around his remains in a spontaneous show of communal upset and solidarity. Wymore was always a popular man, but his death demonstrated just how deeply the community could be affected when one of their own met their end at Indian hands. Those who shed tears for Wymore did not need ties of blood, or connections through past sexual relationships to mourn his passing. There may be no mention of the town's men crying, but one did, with ruthless efficiency, succeed in killing one of Wymore's Indian assailants. One can only speculate whether there was a similar outpouring of loss or emotion when this Indian's social networks learned that the invading settlers had taken his life.[75]

In a very real sense platonic bonds shared a close, self-sustaining relationship with the frontier war. On the one hand they created new opportunities for violence whilst, on the other, they were reinforced or expanded by the existence of such confrontations. Even long running feuds, a phenomenon that would later become an important feature of life not only in Kentucky but across the far west, could be challenged, ended, or reversed by the impact of the war with the Indians.[76] Though 'bitter enemies,' Michael Warnock and a man named Warner saw their prior relationship turned upon its head during the calamitous Blue Licks affair when Warner risked his life to save the exhausted and overcome Warnock from the Indians. Unwilling to leave his onetime adversary defenceless and virtually unable to move upon the field, Warner first 'told him to get on his horse behind him,' but when sheer exhaustion prevented Warnock from even accomplishing this, Walker – in spite of the danger he was placing himself in – 'then got down and pulled him up,' onto his horse, an action which allowed both men to make their escape from the field. After the battle had come to its disastrous end the two men became 'good friends.'[77]

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[75] John D. Shane 'Interview with William Niblic' Draper Manuscripts 11CC84-85

[76] For the importance of later feuds in the region see *Rice The Hartfields and McCoys* and Otterbein 'Five Feuds: An Analysis of Homicides in Eastern Kentucky in the Late Nineteenth Century.' For the significance of feuds in the broader context of the frontier in the far west see Casey Tefertiller *Wyatt Earp: The Life Beyond the Legend* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1997), pp. 226-280, Thorp and Bunker *Crow Killer* and C. L. Sonnichsen *I'll Die Before I Run: The Story of the Great Feuds of Texas* (1955; reprint, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988)

[77] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Morrison' Draper Manuscripts 11CC150-154

Although not enemies to start with, an 'old soldier' and one Captain Madison became friends following a similar episode during St. Clair's defeat in 1791. Wounded in the arm, Captain Madison was attempting to make his escape on foot from a band of pursuing Indians when the soldier 'said to him, "Capt. You must get on and ride this horse."' Madison, however, was suffering from 'the loss of blood' he had incurred from a wound he had sustained and was thus unable to haul himself onto the animal's back. The old soldier accordingly dismounted in order to help the captain onto his horse before retaking his place on the animal and spurring it away from the field. The pair's escape was so desperate that the soldier's switches quickly 'gave out,' forcing him to instead use his hat to spur the animal to its fullest speed. In the years that followed this rescue, Captain Madison would attempt to repay this act by continually bailing the 'old soldier' out jail and even paying off a number of his debts when they threatened to overwhelm him; 'If he could not go and help him out when he was in distress, he would send down one that could.'[78]

The development of such fraternal bonds in combat situations was nothing new and has been identified throughout the colonial period by Stephen Brumwell in his study of British redcoats. Although Brumwell does not argue that interpersonal relationships directly inspired violence – the redcoats were, after all, subject to the whims of a strict hierarchy in way that the settlers of Kentucky were not – he does demonstrate that the bonds shared by soldiers did much to inspire a sense of communal purpose; the soldiers fought not because they were coerced, but for the sake of their companions.[79] This fraternal system was not unique to the army but developed in other contexts, particularly on the frontier where common enemies and common problems mirrored the issues faced by those on His Majesty's payroll. In a broader sense, such fraternal obligation had already been established as a feature of early modern thought and, though it may be unlikely that Captain Madison, his rescuer, Michael Warnock, and Mr. Walker were all well versed in the works of William Shakespeare, it appears that all would have been able to identify with the words placed by the bard into the mouth of Henry V; 'We few, we happy few, we band of brothers; For he to-day that sheds his blood with me Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile, This day shall gentle his condition.'[80]

Companionship was a system that was capable of spanning significant divisions and, though uncommon, this same system did – on a few occasions – result in the development of real and meaningful relationships between some settlers and some Indians.[81] When Moses

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[78] Ibid
[79] Stephen Brumwell *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 112-122
[80] William Shakespeare *Henry V* (New York: Signet Classic, 1998), p.89
[81] John D. Shane 'Interview with Captain John Dyal' Draper Manuscripts 13CC226-237

McIlvaine was attacked and kidnapped by the Shawnee in 1779 his initial experiences were so bad that it hardly seems possible that he would have been able to develop any kind of meaningful relationship with any Indian in the future. Between being forced to run the gauntlet and suffering through a series of other physical hardships there is every reason to suspect that his attitude towards the Indians would have followed a similar trajectory to that of most other settlers. Indeed, throughout his time with the Shawnee it appears that this was very much the case, but upon being sold to the British at Detroit McIlvaine made an acquaintance with an Indian to whom he appealed on an emotional level. McIlvaine informed the Indian that 'he was very much troubled in his mind,' having, as he did, a wife and child who 'he never expected to see any more.'[82]

Sympathetic to McIlvaine's plight, but canny enough to understand his position of power, the Indian inquired of the captive how much he would be paid if he aided his escape. Promised £100, the Indian made preparations to smuggle the settler out of Detroit, promising that he would escort him back to Kentucky. During their journey, the pair grew closer and on several occasions McIlvaine's Indian companion hid the settler from several very large parties of Shawnee Indians who were, at that time, en route to sack Martin's and Ruddle's Stations. Upon their arrival at Fort Pitt the Indian was paid by the 'commissary...£20...for his troubles' but McIlvaine assured his companion that if he helped him to complete the final leg of his journey to Kentucky 'he wo'd still give him the £100, and if he wo'd stay with him, he wo'd maintain him, a gentleman, his lifetime.' Although it may have been money that inspired the Indian to aid McIlvaine in the first place, he showed little interest in it once the pair had arrived Fort Pitt. Indeed, when McIlvaine set off alone on the final leg of his journey, they 'shook hands...[and] the Indian shed tears & cried.' Perhaps if the Indian's belief that 'the white man wo'd kill him,' was not so well founded, he may have taken McIlvaine up on his offer.[83]

The relationship that developed between McIlvaine and his Indian companion was exceptional. Few settlers from Kentucky ever developed a significant bond with any of the northern Indians, at least during the war. Instead their experiences as adversaries tended to drive the two cultures deeper into their own company. The bonds that existed between the settlers were powerful and, when broken through combat, often led them to seek revenge from any Indian or Indian collaborator they could find. When a group of settlers chased a party of raiders who had stolen some horses from Strode's Station, for instance, they were shocked to discover a German among the Indians. Probably a converted captive, the Kentuckians

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[82] John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC77-78

[83] According to Josiah Collins he heard this story 'from [McIlvaine's] own mouth.' John D. Shane 'Interview with Josiah Collins' Draper Manuscripts 12CC77-78

treated him as they would any other captured Indian and though he cried out 'O, don't kill me,' the recent deaths of two of Michael Cassidy's closest friends led this man to shout at his compatriots ,'Damn it rain it into him.'[84]

Although Cassidy's demand that an unarmed prisoner, begging for mercy be run through with a sword appears to be an action filled with hate (which it probably was), it was must also be recognised that at its most fundamental level it was one fuelled by the recent loss of his companions. Parties such as that to which Cassidy belonged shared a close physical and – often – emotional space; when James Lane led a similar band in pursuit of an Indian raiding party, he had been laying 'spoon fashion,' huddled for warmth, with William Clifton when he was shot. Far from being able to forget this incident, however, Lane was reminded of the loss whenever he encountered Clifton's widow: 'she always burst out crying, whenever she saw me.'[85] Although it is often convenient to conceptualise and describe the settlers of the frontier as 'Indian haters,' this should not be done without a considerable degree of qualification. Setting aside the loaded racial connotations of this phrase for a moment, this description fails to hint at the complexity of the emotions that governed settler-Indian interactions. In reality, many on the frontier probably did hate the Indians, but that hate was the product of the affection they held for one another.

For all of the blood spilled on the frontier, for all of the relationships that were broken, it is vital that historians remember that what gave these deaths meaning was the closeness people shared in life. Clifton was connected not only to his wife through a strong emotional tie, but to his companions and, likely, any other relatives who lived in the vicinity.[86] It can be easy to forget when one studies the impact of violence upon the frontier that the settlers revelled in one another's company, enhancing their lives and bringing joy to each another. Through the comfort offered by two men huddled together against the elements, or the pleasure taken from dancing a four handed reel, the settlers formed for themselves a myriad of connections which the unfolding frontier war constantly threatened. The presence of violence, however, never reduced the capacity of the settlers to feel joy and comfort in one another's company but instead served to underline and inform their need to seek revenge or to carry out vendettas.

The last years of the Revolution had been particularly brutal and, by the time peace had been declared, neither those south of the Ohio River, nor their adversaries to the north, wished

[84] John D. Shane 'Interview with Henry Parvin' Draper Manuscripts 11CC15-16
[85] John D. Shane 'Interview with Colonel James Lane' Draper Manuscripts 12CC56
[86] Daniel Deron was a member of this same party and he likewise demonstrated frustration about Clifton's death to John Shane. Evidently he, too, regretted this man having been killed. John D. Shane 'Interview with Daniel Deron' Draper Manuscripts 12CC240

to perpetuate the sentiments written on a scrap of paper in Paris. They simply did not apply in the west. Both the settlers and the Indians continued to fight one another and, of course, landownership was an ever divisive issue but, at the individual level the emotional fallout of prior fighting played a major role in motivating many to fight in the future. Like the Indians, the settlers chose individually when and where to apply themselves militarily.[87] It is thus vitally important to understand the everyday forces that motivated them to fight. Some did indeed fight for land but, at best, this was an abstraction. On an everyday basis the settlers instead fought to defend, or avenge, the connections and relationships which meant so much to them. Within the family, bonds could be intensely close but so too were those between many non-related members of the community. In his study of the Whiskey Rebellion, Thomas Slaughter argued that westerners 'prided themselves on their inhumanity,' but such statements, in addition to being chronically loaded, are fundamentally misleading.[88] In the telling words of one child who reported the capture of its siblings to its mother, 'Mamma, the Indians have been here and stolen all your sugar.'[89]

Closure

With the end of the American Revolution in 1783, the situation in the west was thrown into sharp relief. On the one hand the Treaty of Paris brought the conflict between the United States and Great Britain to an end but, on the other, fighting in areas such as Kentucky continued with little slowdown.[90] This situation raises one of the most important questions concerning the trans-Appalachian region: if the American Revolution came to an end in 1783 – or, 1781 in the east – why did the settlers continue to fight? In many ways historians have sidestepped this question by dividing the war in this theatre into smaller, more manageable conflicts; Dunmore's War, the American Revolution, and the Northwest War.[91] Chronological gaps, 1775 and 1783-1785, have been identified by historians which, when coupled peace treaties, ostensibly justify these divisions but, when studied from the bottom-up, these gaps in the fighting reveal themselves to be nothing of the sort. To be sure, the American Revolution

[87] For information on the individualised Native American approach to war see Perdue *Cherokee Women*, p. 95

[88] Thomas P. Slaughter *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 62

[89] John D. Shane 'Interview with Mrs. Falconer' Draper Manuscripts 11CC135-139

[90] 'Letter from Isaac Hite to Abraham Hite, April 26th, 1783' Manuscripts Miscellaneous Collection C/H, Filson Historical Society

[91] Skaggs 'The Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814,' pp. 7-14 and Wiley Sword *President Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790-1795* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993)

came to an end in 1783, but the war fought in the west, always more than a colonial rebellion, did not. There were certainly Tories, Patriots, disaffected, and disinterested settlers throughout the region but the war against the Indians was not necessarily a product of this larger struggle. Without any doubt, the American Revolution certainly took place in the west but so too did a concurrent war with the Indians which would continue long past the transformation of the colonies into states. It is crucial, then, to understand why the settlers – and Indians – continued to fight. Clearly their goals were not limited to those of Revolutionary politics alone. As was demonstrated in chapter four of this thesis, the drive for revenge and retribution by both communities was a key factor in the continuing momentum of the war. Understanding the drive for revenge, however, can only be framed appropriately when the sheer significance of the family and other social networks is analysed. Interpersonal bonds on the frontier were incredibly powerful and the threat or destruction of them set in motion a series of opportunities for further conflict.

It can be easy for historians to fall back upon the Indian-hater label to explain the perpetuation of the war but, as this chapter has sought to demonstrate, that concept fails to accurately reflect the settlers as a social group. Among both the settlers and Indians there existed a common type of dedication to families, communities, and compatriots which provided the fuel for countless vendettas and confrontations. Rather than framing the settlers and Indians as different cultures, able to engage peaceably only when a common or middle ground of shared motivation existed between them, it is important to recognise that these two groups shared some key cultural similarities. Indeed, it is crucial that the significance of these shared world views be understood. Put simply, the settlers and Indians fought not because of the ideas and perceptions which divided them, but because of the cultural and social overlap which united them. Both of the societies who met in Kentucky placed significant value upon their individual members, emphasising links of kin and friendship. The breaking of these bonds – or the perceived threat that this might come about – was a potent driving force behind much of the fighting, providing a plethora of individuals on both sides with ample motivation to carry the war forward. Kentucky may be celebrated for its vicious nineteenth century feuds – such as that which occurred between the Hatfields and McCoys in the 1880s and 1890s – but in many ways the war with the Indians in the late eighteenth century was by far the most expansive example of this type of western intercourse.[92] To put it another way, the war for the trans-

[92] For the Hatfield and McCoy feud see Rice *The Hartfields and McCoys*. See also Keith F. Otterbein 'Five Feuds: An Analysis of Homicides in Eastern Kentucky in the Late Nineteenth Century' *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 102 (2000): 231-243, Kathleen M. Blee and Dwight B. Billings 'Violence and Local State Formation: A Longitudinal Case Study of Appalachian Feuding' *Law and Society Review*, Vol. 30 (1996): 671-706, S. S. MacClintock 'The Kentucky Mountains and their Feuds I: The People and their Country' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 7 (1901): 1-28, and S. S. MacClintock 'The Kentucky

Appalachian west was probably the largest, most expansive blood feud in North American history.

As already stated, conflict over land ownership and larger trans-national struggles – such as the American Revolution – certainly played a role in shaping this war but, at its most fundamental level, the continuing conflict in the west was a product primarily of the settlers' and Indians' making, a reaction based upon the value each society placed upon its individual members. The engine which drove the frontier war was neither political nor economic. It was instead something far more human; the drive to protect, to avenge, and to cherish. To be sure, cultural differences certainly played a role. Few settlers ever came to recognise that the Indians' practice of ritualised torture provided a retributive safety valve for the tribes. Fundamentally, however, the need for such a safety valve was no different from the process which drove the settlers to seek their, unlimited, version of the same. Whatever the political forces acting at the time, the settlers and Indians were driven to fight by a common set of ground-up social forces which inspired violence, demanded conflict, and encouraged retribution. These forces also shared an active relationship with society creating combat fraternities, long term cross-gender friendships, and underlining the need of family and kin networks to stand together in order to fight, defend and, at times, rescue one another. To be sure, the greatest impact social structures such as the family had upon the frontier war came when they were broken; it should be remembered that the relationship between violence and society was a dynamic one, each informing the other. Rather than creating a state of social fatalism, however, the violence of the frontier war instead created conditions which promoted close interpersonal contact, just as a significant interpersonal network formed the basis upon which many future acts of violence would occur. Such a force, however, was not left untapped or free from manipulation. Although the United States government would struggle to impose peace upon its western frontier throughout much of the 1780s, the sheer potency of the forces acting in this region meant that the subjugation of the masses to the will of the few was never a practical or easily attainable goal. By the mid-1780s, however, the desire of the government to exert control over the western lands ceded to it by Britain at the end of the Revolution came into alignment with the drive of the settlers already in the region. How those forces were manipulated to suit the government's ultimate ends will be the subject of the following chapter.

Mountains and their Feuds II: The Causes of the Feuds' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 7 (1901): 171-187

Chapter Six

Making the Most of War

The sound of musket balls flying back and forth across the frontier echoed through the halls of Congress. Throughout the 1780s the United States had attempted, through a series of peace initiatives and treaties, to bring the war on the frontier to a close whilst simultaneously securing vast tracts of the Ohio country for sale and settlement. For all their efforts, however, the government found that the situation in the west was simply beyond their control. Peace may have been obtained with the British, but the true contest for the trans-Appalachian region had never been settled. In spite of any and all hopes to the contrary, the frontier war had continued unabated since the end of the American Revolution, a situation which highlighted the very real dichotomy between political perspective and intercultural reality. On the one hand the United States was ostensibly at peace. No declarations of war had been issued since the signing of the Treaty of Paris and it was to matters of internal politics and nation building, rather than the ongoing struggles with the Indians, that the majority of the political élite turned their attention.[1] On the other hand, the people of the frontier lived in a very different

[1] The period between the end of the Revolution and the adoption of the constitution was something of a grey area for the western territories who received attention from the east not because of their ongoing war with the Indians, but because of the contentious issue of which state (or indeed, Congress) could claim supremacy in the region. Virginia, with its claims to not only Kentucky but to lands north of the Ohio River also, was at the centre of this ongoing process. To be sure, the west was a key political issue for the early republic but the focus was upon claims of sovereignty rather than the situation which was being endured by the local population. The fact that the ownership of Ohio was such a contentious internal issue for the early republic, rather than it being an issue which involved the Indians speaks volumes as to how the ongoing war was perceived. In addition to Virginia seceding its claims to Ohio, 1784 was also the year John Filson published *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky to which is Appended the Adventures of Daniel Boon*, a work designed to convince those in the east that western lands were now safe to settle. At the end of Boone's narrative Filson made this point explicit: 'But now the Many dark and sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the Summer's sun, and pinched by the Winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: Peace crowns the sylvan shade.' To be sure the continuing western war remained an important issue for many but among the larger public works such as this helped to undermine the image of an ongoing struggle between the western settlers and the northern tribes. At the very least the true extent of the continuing hostilities was obscured by the idea of peace and western expansion. Even historians tend to describe the period between 1775 and 1794 as being afflicted by two very separate conflicts; the War of Independence (1775-1783) and the Northwest War (1789-1794), both of which are separated by approximately six anomalous years. These six years, however, were far from a violence free vacuum. Nor is it particularly appropriate to describe the conflicts which bookend these years as distinct entities. True, from a political perspective there is some justification for this, but from a bottom up analysis the apparent gap which these two wars bookend becomes far more problematic. In short, the west was dominated by a continuous war lasting until the middle of the 1790s, something which many eastern contemporaries (and historians) failed to acknowledge. See Peter S. Onuf *The Origins of the Federal Republic: Judicial Controversies in*

reality to those same eastern politicians and policy makers. Since the disastrous events of 1782, the war upon the frontier had shown, at best, only a momentary lapse in intensity before returning to its prior potency.[2] Politicians may have arranged for the sovereignty of Ohio to be transferred from Virginia to congress in 1784, but the Indians who lived in the region had fought to ensure that this domain of paper remained just that. This division between eastern political fantasy and western reality highlights a divide between those who claimed political power, and those who lived upon the periphery of the nation. Whatever the actions or plans fostered by the political élite during the early years of the republic, the settlers and Indians of the trans-Appalachian west marched to the beat of their own particular drum.[3] A potentially alarming development, the divide between west and east – something which would ultimately culminate with the Whiskey Rebellion of 1795 – also presented a distinct opportunity for the government. Although they hoped to open the Ohio country to settlement via peaceful means, the sheer voracity of the settlers' desire to fight Indians was a potent and powerful tool which could be employed to achieve that same end following the failure of the peace process in the 1780s. The ongoing conflict in the west may have placed western settlers and eastern power brokers at odds, but it could and would be manipulated to serve government's larger agenda in the Ohio Valley.

Over the course of this chapter it will be demonstrated that the anti-Indian sentiment generated by the war with the Indians was a valuable commodity which was used and manipulated by those in positions of power as a means to achieve their particular ends – the acquisition of Ohio and the exertion of authority in the west – throughout the late 1780s and 1790s. A common feature throughout the 1770s and into the 1780s, fear and resentment of the Indians allowed settlers with strong reputations as Indian fighters or expert woodsmen to gather increasing levels of power and influence.[4] Following the end of the American

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the United States, 1775-1787 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), pp. 75-102, Filson and Boone 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' pp. 80-81, and Skaggs 'Sixty Years War for the Great Lakes, 1754-1814,' pp. 10-22

[2] John D. Shane 'Interview with John Crawford' Draper Manuscripts 12CC159 and John D. Shane 'Interview with Colonel Putnam Ewing' Draper manuscripts 12CC57

[3] The Gnadenhutten massacre of 1782 was a case in point. In spite of extreme opposition from the authorities at Fort Pitt, the settlers carried out this affair with little hesitation see Leonard Sadosky 'Rethinking the Gnadenhutten Massacre,' pp. 188-189. See also Harper 'Looking the Other Way,' pp. 636-639

[4] Among the settlers, the anti-Indian sentiment that was the product of the war similarly allowed particular individuals to gather increased levels of power and influence. Men like George R. Clark and Daniel Boone, for instance, both provided the settlers, at different times, with a means through which their resentments could be expressed physically against the Indians. In many ways men like Clark and Boone were not true leaders, at least in a contemporary sense; their ability to lead was not inherited nor was it unchallenged or universally respected. Instead, leaders such as these were capitalising upon a popular movement or perception, utilizing it for their own advancement. Clark repeatedly capitalised upon periods of heightened resentment towards the Indians as a means of placing himself at the head

Revolution those same forces retained much of their potency. Indeed, as the war continued so too did anti-Indian sentiment among the settlers continue to build but, rather than take advantage of this force, the United States' government had instead struggled against it in an attempt to secure lands north of the Ohio River through peaceable means. By the end of that decade, however, the failure of the government's non-violent attempt to usurp the Indians forced a change of approach to the Ohio question; with no way of gaining the region peaceably the United States needed an army capable of fighting the Indians. Rather than attempting to hold back anti-Indian sentiment in the region the government instead started to take advantage of it, drawing upon communal animosity, frustration, and fear in order to furnish armies for a number of major expeditions against the Indians. Having forced a continuation of the fighting, the settlers were, in turn, used to ensure that the government's larger agenda in the Ohio Valley was secured by the ongoing violence. In this way the government was able to use the attitudes and world views created and shaped by the war in order to advance two of its key interests; the acquisition of Ohio from the Indians and the expression of meaningful authority in the west.

Although the United States spent most of the 1780s attempting to avoid a renewed war with the Indians, their desire for tribal lands ultimately trumped their desire for peace.[5] Fear and resentment, two inseparable forces, were the devices which the government and it supporters would use in order to steer an otherwise hostile and non-conformist settler population down their chosen path in the 1790s. The government may have aspired to impose peace upon the west but their motivation for doing so was hardly altruistic. Following the end of the American Revolution, Ohio had come to represent one of the new nation's best hopes of recouping the massive costs of the Revolutionary War. Avoiding an Indian war in the region would thus serve two purposes; first it would avoid the significant cost of yet another conflict whilst, simultaneously, it was hoped, the signing of peace treaties would open up lands in Ohio for sale and settlement, or as James Madison put it, such a plan would effectively serve to

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of efforts to defeat the northern tribes whilst Boone similarly utilized fear of the Indians in 1778 as a means to launch a campaign against the towns at Paint Creek, a move which directly challenged accusations that he was an Indian sympathiser. In broader terms, anti-Indian resentment was a tool which Revolutionary authorities sought to guide as a means of asserting meaningful leadership in the western sphere; it should be remembered that even the process of settling lands west of the Appalachians occurred in defiance of the prevailing political authority, not in accordance with it. See Trabue 'The Narrative of Daniel Trabue,' pp. 57-63, Filson and Boone, 'The Adventures of Daniel Boon,' p. 67, Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' p. 65, Faragher *Daniel Boone*, pp. 177-182, John D. Shane 'Interview with Ephriam Sandusky' Draper Manuscripts 11CC141-145, Harrison *George Rogers Clark and the War in the West*, pp. 86-98, and 'Letter from An Honest Buckskin' *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 1st, 1766, p. 2

[5] For the US government's consistent vision of the place of Ohio in the early republic see Reginald Horsman *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 5-6

transform the 'Western territory [into] a mine of vast wealth.'[6] Unfortunately for the government, the situation on the ground was such that it simply could not fulfil this aspiration through non-violent means. Too many settlers and Indians were simply unwilling to cease their hostilities.[7] As demonstrated in chapters four and five, a potent system of highly personalised vendettas was continuing to drive conflict in this region forward. The government – along with tribal leaders – certainly attempted to impose peace upon the frontier but many settlers and Indians were being driven by forces far more powerful than the wishes of their political masters; the forces unleashed by the war had effectively served to radicalise significant numbers on both sides of the frontier. As the 1780s progressed it became increasingly obvious that the government could not hope to restrain western settlers in their war against the Indians, just as Indian chiefs who aspired to re-establish peace in the region could not hope to restrain those members of their community dedicated to the fight. Indeed, by promoting peace with the Indians in the 1780s, the government appeared to mirror the perceived attitude of the British in the 1760s, promoting the interests of the tribes ahead of those of their own people.[8]

To transform this situation, fear, animosity, and anti-Indian sentiment proved to be powerful tools. Even before the outbreak of the Revolution, earlier political élites such as Lord Dunmore had demonstrated that such attitudes could be capitalised upon in order to advance particular interests.[9] Dunmore's War may have been a conflict sparked by an outbreak of vendetta feuding but that does not mean that Dunmore failed to take advantage of the conflict in order to satisfy his own agenda, specifically the opening of western lands for speculation and settlement.[10] Dunmore was nothing if not an opportunist and though the outbreak of war

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[6] James Madison 'The Same Subject Continued, And the Incoherence of the Objections to the New Plan Exposed, Tuesday, January 15th, 1788' *The Federalist and Anti-Federalist Papers* (Seattle: Beacon Hill, 2009), p. 89

[7] Timothy D. Willig *Restoring the Chain of Friendship: British Policy and the Indians of the Great Lakes, 1783-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), pp. 11-58

[8] Patrick Griffin 'Reconsidering the Ideological Origins of Indian Removal: The Case of the Big Bottom "Massacre"' in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Stuart D. Hobbs *The Centre of a Great Empire: The Ohio Country in the Early American Republic* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), p. 18

[9] Historians have identified two key motivations behind Dunmore's intervention in the growing conflict. According to John Mack Faragher, Dunmore sought a war with the Indians as a means to deflect pre-Revolutionary tensions in Virginia away from British authorities. For Woody Holton, Dunmore's motivation was even more self-centred; rather than attempting to use an Indian war as a safety valve Holton instead argued that Dunmore pushed for a full scale war against the Indians as a means of securing lands in the west in order to open up those regions for speculation. See Faragher *Daniel Boone*, pp. 99-100 and Holton *Forced Founders*, pp. 32-38

[10] For surveyors active in the west see 'Letter from Doctor Hugh Mercer to Colonel William Preston, January 8th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ1, 'Letter from Alexander Spottswood Dandridge to Colonel William Preston, May 15th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ26, and 'Letter from Abraham Hite to Colonel William Preston, June 3rd, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ35. For Daniel Boone being sent to warn Dunmore's surveyors see 'Letter from Captain William Russell to Colonel William Preston, June 26th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ46

in 1774 had little to do with him, it delivered to the governor the opportunity for which he had been waiting. In a way simply not possible before, Dunmore now had a chance to force the Indians to recognise the surveys he had commissioned by forcing upon them a significant change to the problematic Proclamation Line of 1763. Dunmore may not have started this war but he did draw upon the 'emigrating spirit of the Americans' in order to see that his will was carried out in the western territories.[11]

Even after the war had concluded, Dunmore continued to leverage the conflict and his publically professed motivations for joining it as a means of shoring up his relationship with the soon-to-be rebelling colonists of Virginia.[12] Writing in a special supplement of the *Virginia Gazette*, Dunmore went to great lengths to portray himself as the guardian of the frontier; 'The Fatigue and Danger of the service which I undertook,' he reminded his colonial underlings, was carried out 'in particular...for the back Inhabitants.'[13] Not one to pass up an opportunity to extract the maximum political capital from a situation, Dunmore had continued to leverage the settlers' fear of the 'human carnage' caused by the Indians as a means to further shore up his position and public image.[14] According to Dunmore, 'the motives which induced me to exert my efforts to relieve the back country from the calamity which it lately laboured would have been disappointed of one its principle ends if it had not met your approbation.'[15] With a stroke of his pen, Dunmore expertly identified himself as the true champion of the frontier population. Not satisfied with this alone, Dunmore pushed the matter further by reminding his readers that his role in the war made 'manifest my Solicitude for the Safety of the Country in general, which his Majesty committed to my care.'[16] In other

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[11] John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore 'Lord Dunmore's Official Report to the Earl of Dartmouth, December 24th, 1774' in Thwaites and Kellogg (eds.) *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, p. 371

[12] 'Letter from Captain Daniel Smith to Colonel William Preston, March 22nd, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ15 and 'Circular Letter from William Preston, July 20th, 1774' Draper Manuscripts 3QQ139

[13] 'Lord Dunmore's Reply to a "Humble Address of the City of Williamsburg"' Supplement to the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 8th, 1774, p. 1

[14] 'Letter from Unknown Author to Lord Dunmore' *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), December 15th, 1774, p. 3, see also 'Address from Lord Dunmore,' *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 22nd, 1774, p. 1

[15] ibid

[16] This public relations campaign continued for several months following the conclusion of the war, becoming so successful that it inspired anti-British revolutionaries to print a remarkable rebuttal and conspiracy theory the following year in the *Virginia Gazette* as the colony hurtled towards revolution. According to the anonymous writer of this piece, 'I cannot omit taking notice of the suspicion that has gone forth, that lord Dunmore encouraged that war, and sent the Shawnanese to attack.' This remarkable claim, that the royal governor was in league with the Shawnee, contains significant undertones that speak volumes as to how potent settler fears of the Indians actually were. This letter also demonstrated that apprehension and fear of the Indians was a valuable commodity which differing factions sought to exploit in order to pull the settlers into their respective spheres of influence. Just as Dunmore sought to gain support by painting himself as a guardian of the frontier against the Indians, so too did this letter writer attempt to undermine that support by describing the governor not as a protector, but as an instigator of Indian wars against his own population. By describing Dunmore not only as an Indian sympathiser but as a man willing to use the Indians against his own people, this letter

words, if the settlers wished to live in safety – free from the fear of Indian raids – Dunmore was their natural leader. Similarly, Revolutionary authorities would employ a comparable approach from an early point in the frontier war. In late 1776, for instance, Colonel Dorsey Pentecost wrote to Captain William Harrod of his fear that 'a Numbers of people has Combined to Cross the Ohio and kill some of the Indians,' a course which he believed would 'forever Distroy the faith the Indians harbour of us [sic].'[17] Although Pentecost was concerned that the settlers' desire for retribution would further alienate the northern tribes, it quickly became evident that there was much value in directing rather than restraining such impulses.[18] A planned expedition against Pluggy's Town in 1777 did not materialise but the transformation in intent is striking nonetheless.[19]

In the aboriginal world, too, certain chiefs were willing to exploit pre-existing ideas, prejudices, and apprehensions in order to see their personal wills executed throughout the frontier war; the manipulation of the population by a relatively small élite was a system not particular to the settlers alone. Indeed, Indian war chiefs lacked any coercive authority over their followers and could hope to draw support only by appealing to the sensibilities and attitudes of those whom they sought to lead into conflict, a situation which made the exploitation of pre-existing ideas or prejudices all the more visible. In many ways, the Mingo chief Logan was Lord Dunmore's opposite number among the northern tribes. His motivation for going to war – the murder of his family as opposed to opening up new lands for settlement – may have been very different from Dunmore's but his desire for revenge was, nevertheless, a highly personal agenda. More importantly, it was one that Logan was willing to place above his long held belief that peace with the settlers was the best possible option for his tribe.[20] Rather than attempting to hold back the tide of war, Logan instead took advantage of it in order to ensure that his revenge was secured. Nor were such situations unique to Dunmore's War; the Shawnee chief Blackfish, for example, was able to expertly capitalize upon the death of his political adversary, Cornstalk, in 1777, by drawing upon widespread anger over the

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writer sought to very deliberately undo all of the good press which the governor had thus far managed to generate surrounding his role in the war. See 'Letter from an Unknown Author,' *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), October 27th, 1775, p. 2, for quote see 'Lord Dunmore's Reply to a "Humble Address of the City of Williamsburg"' Supplement to the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 8th, 1774, p. 1

[17] 'Letter from Colonel Dorsey Pentecost to William Harrod, November 12th, 1776' Draper Manuscripts 4NN34

[18] 'Order from the Virginia Council, March 12th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS43

[19] 'Letter from Governor Patrick Henry to Colonel David Shepherd, April 12th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS51 and 'Letter from John Page to Colonel George Morgan and Colonel John Nevill, April 15th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 1SS53

[20] Jolly 'Account of Judge Henry Jolly' Draper Manuscripts 6NN22-24 and Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia (1787)*, pp. 103-107, 'Deposition of John Gibson, recorded by Jeremiah Barker, April 14th, 1800' in Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 247, and 'Treaty at Pittsburgh, 1775' in Thwaites and Louise Pelps Kellogg (eds.) *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 25-126

peace broker's murder in order to shore up support for the pro-war faction within the tribe. Indeed, anti-settler sentiment following Cornstalk's murder was so strong that Blackfish was able to manifest it in the most unusual of forms; a large-scale wintertime assault upon the settlements.[21] Far from being particular to the 1770s, such systems would reappear with varying degrees of consistency and effectiveness throughout the period of the war.[22]

Throughout the 1780s, Revolutionary authorities drew upon anti-Indian western sentiments in a haphazard and inconsistent manner. With the notable exception of George R. Clark's and a small number of other campaigns, the United States had a remarkably poor leadership record in the west until their breakthrough at Fallen Timbers in 1794. Although focused upon opening up Ohio for speculation, sale and, ultimately, settlement, the new government's drive to avoid an expensive Indian war placed them at odds with the region's settler population. Rather than taking a leadership role in the continuing western struggle, the government's strict policy of attempting to acquire Ohio via peaceful means served to drive a wedge between them and many settlers. The battle for independence had been a costly endeavour which the government did not wish to repeat. Indeed, the purpose of opening the northern Ohio valley to settlement was an attempt to recoup some of those Revolutionary expenditures, rather than adding to them.[23] In almost every way, then, a war with the northern tribes was contrary to the new government's vision of the region, a reality which

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[21] Aron *How the West was Lost*, pp. 40-41

[22] If Blackfish's use of his fellows' apprehensions over the growing settler threat allowed him to serve what he considered to be the best interests of the tribe then the motivations of the British can hardly be described in such terms. Like every other major force on the frontier, the British fought primarily, if not exclusively, for their own ends and they were certainly not beyond manipulating Indian attitudes and apprehensions to service those goals. On numerous occasions the British, with expert sensitivity, were able to draw upon widely held Indian fears that the Americans intended to drive them completely from the Ohio Valley. In 1782, for instance, a British Indian agent, Simon Girty, delivered a speech to an audience which included members belonging to most of the northern tribes as well as representatives of the southern Cherokee. The nature of this speech was precise, full of loaded rhetoric and, most importantly, dependent upon underlying Indian apprehensions regarding further expansion of the Kentucky settlements. '[T]he long knives have overrun your country [to the south],' Girty reminded his assembled audience, 'and usurped your hunting grounds.' Going further, the British agent made an impassioned plea not on behalf of king and country, but the land and environment; 'Were there a voice in the trees of the forest or articulate sounds in the gurgling waters, every part of this country would call for you to chase away these ruthless invaders, who are laying it waste.' Finally, Girty made his point explicit; 'Unless you rise in the majesty of your might...you may bid adieu to the hunting grounds of your fathers – to the delicious flesh of the animals with which it once abounded, and to the skins with which you were once enabled to purchase your clothing and your rum.' With expert finesse Girty played upon the specific fears and apprehensions of the Indians in order to galvanise support for the British. See Bradford 'Notes on Kentucky,' pp. 49-50, 'Official council report, Henry Hamilton, June 17th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 49J13, Hoffman *Simon Girty,* Ebenezer Denny *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, An Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars with an Introductory Memoir* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. For the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1859), p. 105, Calloway *The Shawnee and the War for America*, pp. 69-70 and Clark *The Shawnee*, pp. 28-47 and 'Letter from David Zeisberger to Colonel George Mason, July 7th, 1777' Draper Manuscripts 3NN11-13

[23] Griffin 'Reconsidering the Ideological Origins of Indian Removal,' p. 15

placed them at odds with the actual situation in the west.[24] Thus was the paradox faced by the United States throughout most of the 1780s; on the one hand the government sought to exploit Ohio in order to generate significant levels of income, a goal which should have, theoretically, appealed to the land hungry settlers of the west. On the other hand, the method through which the United States pursued this goal stood in stark contrast to the everyday aspirations of not only their own settler population, but a significant portion of the Indians also. As Gordon S. Wood has argued, the settlers 'compelled the federal government' to fight.[25] Put simply, the government found itself between a rock and a hard place or, to put it another way, between a tomahawk and a Kentucky rifle.

Rather than exploiting anti-Indian attitudes or Indian-related fears in the region, the United States had instead spent much of the 1780s struggling against them. Indeed, the United States would spend most of that decade attempting to negotiate peaceable control of the Ohio country in an attempt to avoid a full scale Indian war.[26] However, the processes set in motion by the preceding fifteen years of warfare among the settler and Indian populations would continually hamstring those efforts, forcing the government to take advantage of that same system in order furnish its armies with hundreds of frontier veterans in order to take Ohio through military means. The character of the western population was thus something of a double edged sword, simultaneously forcing the United States down a particular – and unwanted – path whilst providing the government with a ready body of support for its eventual military actions in the region. In a very real way it was the actions of the settlers and Indians in the region which perpetuated the war in the trans-Appalachian west and, finding itself with no viable alternative to an armed confrontation, the government took advantage of that system in order to realise its goal of controlling Ohio. If the settlers wanted to fight Indians, the government intended to make that desire serve a purpose, their purpose. The United States would certainly strive for the cheaper option of peace throughout the last years of the frontier war but, at almost every juncture, it would find itself restrained by the attitudes and actions of those who resided in the western country. In his study of British-Indian relations in the late eighteenth century, Timothy Willig emphasised the agency of the British in order to explain the antagonistic attitude of the Indians but it should be remembered that the Indians, like the settlers, fought for their own ends.[27] Neither group passively acceded to the whims of a larger empire and neither group, whether their relationship was with the British or the American government, could be commanded or led without a clear understanding of the

[24] Horsman *Expansion and American Indian Policy*, pp. 85-86
[25] Gordon S. Wood *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press), p. 129
[26] Willig *Restoring the Chain of Friendship*, pp. 44-45
[27] ibid, pp. 30-58

advantages they could expect from such an arrangement. Thus unable to influence the western war through negotiation, the government would ultimately attempt to exploit the settlers' anti-Indian voracity in order to accomplish its primary goal of taking, settling and selling Ohio.

By the time the United States entered the frontier war in late 1789 the Northwest Territory had been in existence for two years. More than a paper empire, the creation of this new territory had been accompanied and preceded by the establishment of permanent – and mostly illegal – settlements north of the Ohio River, a move which expanded the settler domain out of the Indians' hunting grounds and into their residential territories.[28] Such ruthless demographic expansion occurred in spite of the continuing hostilities that marred the earlier settlement of Kentucky, but it also occurred during a time of increasing federal strength in the west. Since the establishment of the United States, the condition of the western frontier had steadily become one of the new nation's top priorities and, over the coming years, the newly formed government would spend the vast majority of the nation's available capital attempting to bring the war in that territory to a favourable conclusion.[29] The end sought by the government was not limited to a cessation of hostilities, but was tied fundamentally to their desire to control the Ohio country. Problematically, this brought the power of the federal government directly into the lives of the settlers who had, up until this point, spent the past fifteen years fighting this very same war largely on their own terms. Moreover, the United States' entry into the war was, almost until the final battle in 1794, a disastrous, haphazard series of missed opportunities, misjudged circumstances, and failed enterprises. Even as the interests of the settlers and their government aligned, the latter's blundering efforts, combined with their prior attempts to negotiate peace with the Indians, served to drive a wedge between the two, something which made the manipulation of settler fears and paranoia all the more important if any hope was to be had of rallying them to the government's banner.

Essentially the entry of the United States into the frontier war introduced yet another player to an already crowded battlefield. In addition to the various Indian tribes, the settlers, and the British, the United States represented a fourth interest which sought not just security but vast swathes of uninhabited and uncontested land. With only a limited army and, by the late 1780s at least, little hope of gaining the Ohio country through peaceful means, the US government could not hope to achieve such ambitious ends without utilizing the existing and aggrieved frontier population. In theory the entry of the United States into the war should

[28] Hinderaker *Elusive Empire*, pp. 240-243
[29] Slaughter *The Whiskey Rebellion*, p. 94 and Wood *Empire of Liberty*, pp. 123-124

have been a boon to the settlers, representing as it did a significant increase in the resources that could be committed to the western sphere. By 1789, however, the frontier had changed significantly since the start of the decade. For one, Kentucky had been gradually stabilizing throughout much of the 1780s and although the frontier regions within this country were still extremely volatile and prone to attack, the more settled parts of this region no longer laboured under the daily apprehensions which the Indians had previously wrought. Kentucky had been transformed from a frontier into a country *with* a frontier (see figures one-six) and though anti-Indian sentiment remained an important force, for many the lack of everyday danger removed the need to engage in highly proactive acts of violence. In Ohio perspectives of the Indians were also divided; in many parts of the county Kentuckians had carried their southern, anti-Indian world views with them but in the eastern part of the region immigrants from New England – who brought with them a more accommodating approach to the Indians – had a significant impact.[30]

As intense as the frontier war had been for those living south of the Ohio River it should be remembered that the settlers of this region were farmers and aspiring landowners first; they were Indian haters and fighters second. As the central areas of Kentucky began to stabilize so too did settler attitudes towards the Indians in those regions. Of course, old prejudices and ideas died hard and slowly but without the ever present threat of war imposing itself into one's daily life – away from the country's frontier regions, at least – animosities were able to simmer rather than boil over. The settlers of the more stable regions within Kentucky may not have felt any particular degree of affection for the northern tribes, but the chance to live without the daily threat of being killed was no trifling matter. The entry of the United States into the frontier war may have been a welcome occurrence, in principle, but the reliance of the government upon the western population demanded that many of those who were now able to live in relative tranquillity place themselves once again in the firing line. In order to accomplish the task of mobilizing and motivating this group, the government set out from an early stage to remind the inhabitants of Kentucky – not just the inhabitants of its frontier – of all that they had lost, stirring up dormant grievances and reopening old wounds. As early as 1788, Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, informed the readers of the *Kentucky Gazette* that 'we have been in the daily expectation of seeing the Indians,' in the vicinity of Fort Harmar but having not yet spied the anticipated raiders he recalled the

[30] Rufus Putnam 'Memoirs of the Putnam Family' Marietta College Collection, 1776-1847, Reel One, MIC48 , Ohio Historical Society and John D. Shane 'Interview with a Woman in Cincinnati' Draper Manuscripts 13CC9-18, see also Gruenwald *Rivers of Enterprise*,pp. xi-xvi, Hurt *The Ohio Frontier*, pp. 176-182 and Griffin 'Reconsidering the Ideological Origins of Indian Removal,' pp. 15-26

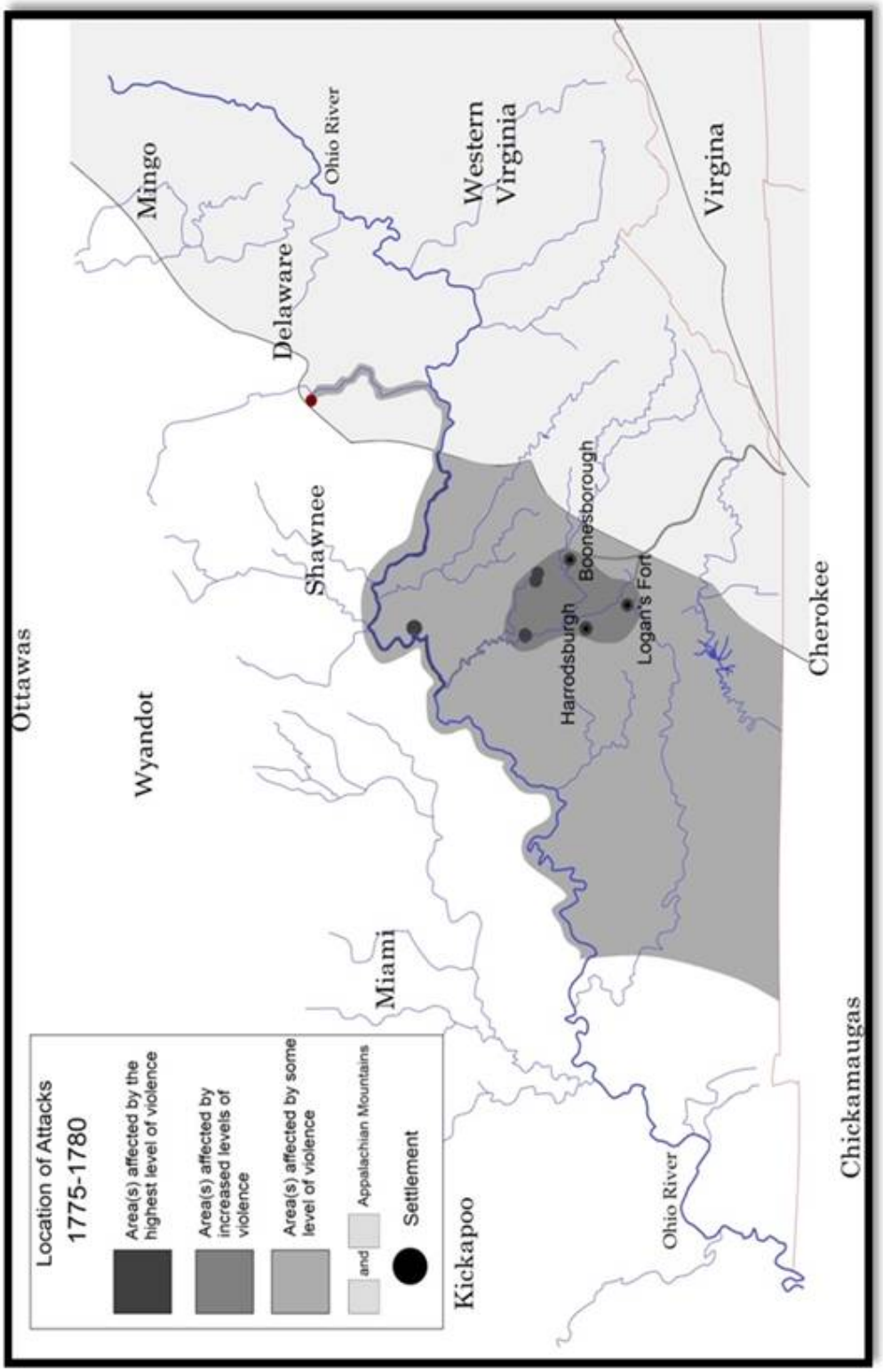

Figure 1 - This map illustrates zones of conflict as they affected Kentucky between the years 1775 and 1780. In this map the areas affected by the highest levels of violence surround the major settlements

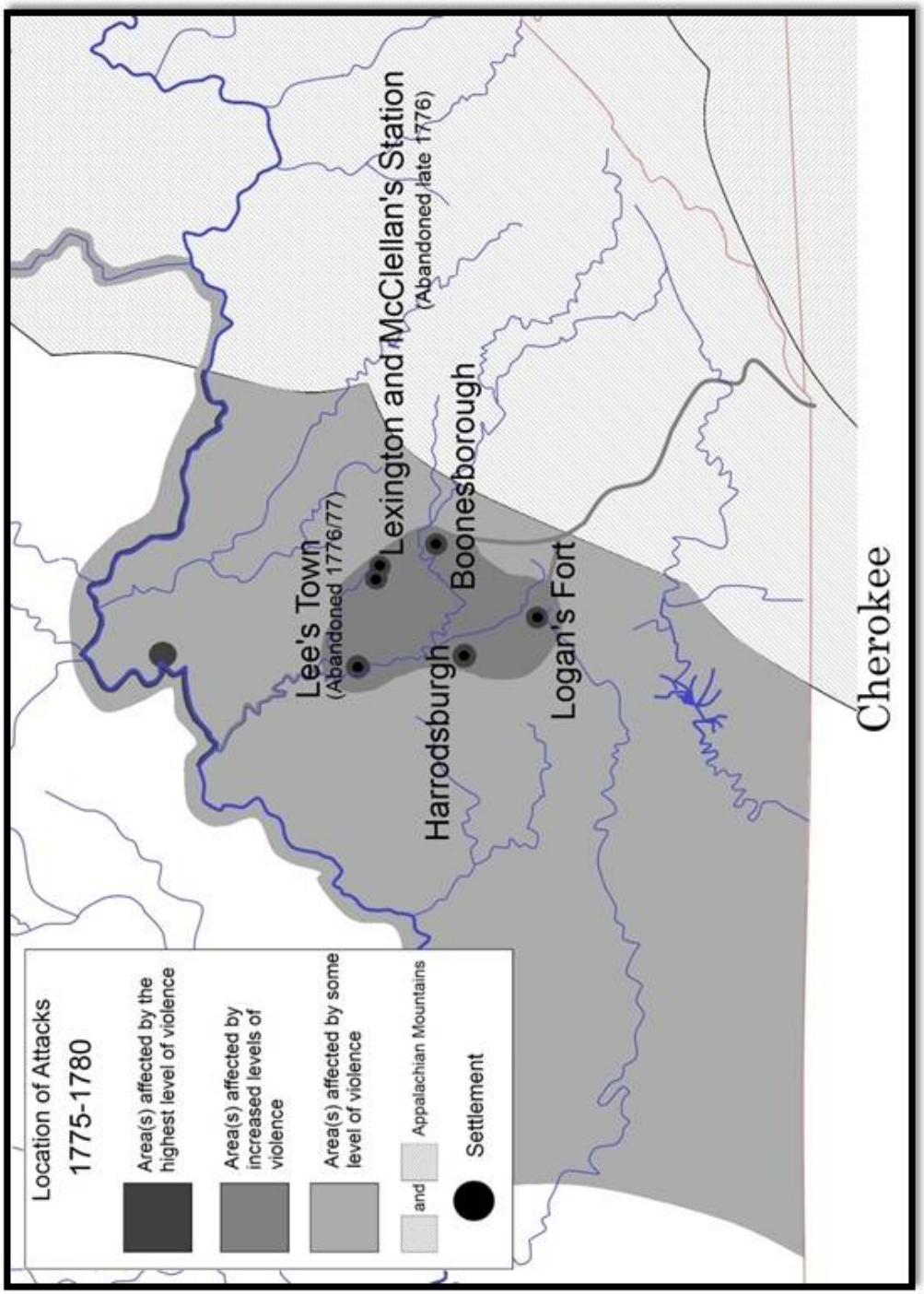

Figure 2 – This map illustrates zones of conflict as they affected Kentucky between the years 1775 and 1780 in detail

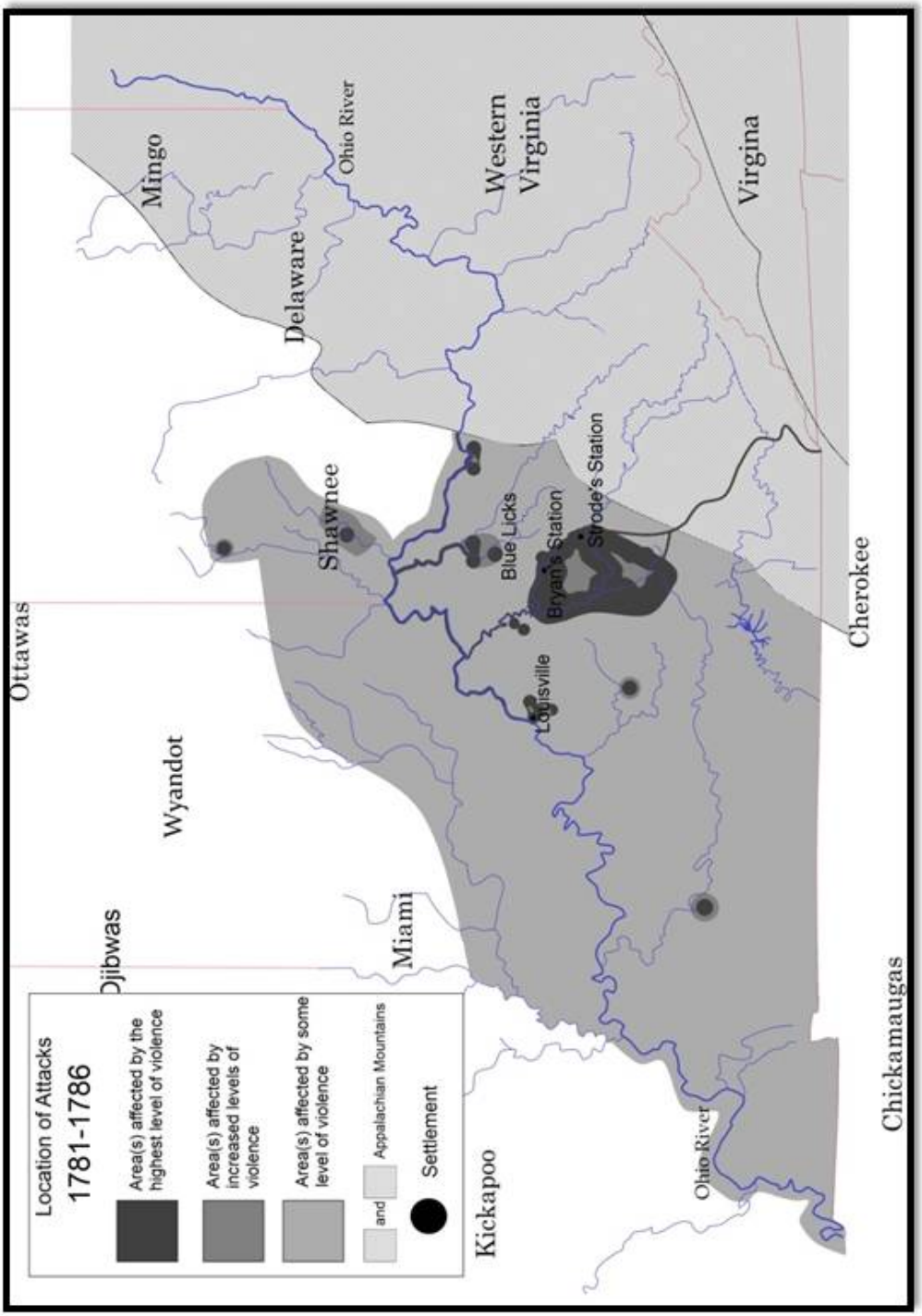

Figure 3 - This map illustrates zones of conflict as they affected Kentucky and the southern Ohio country, 1781-1786

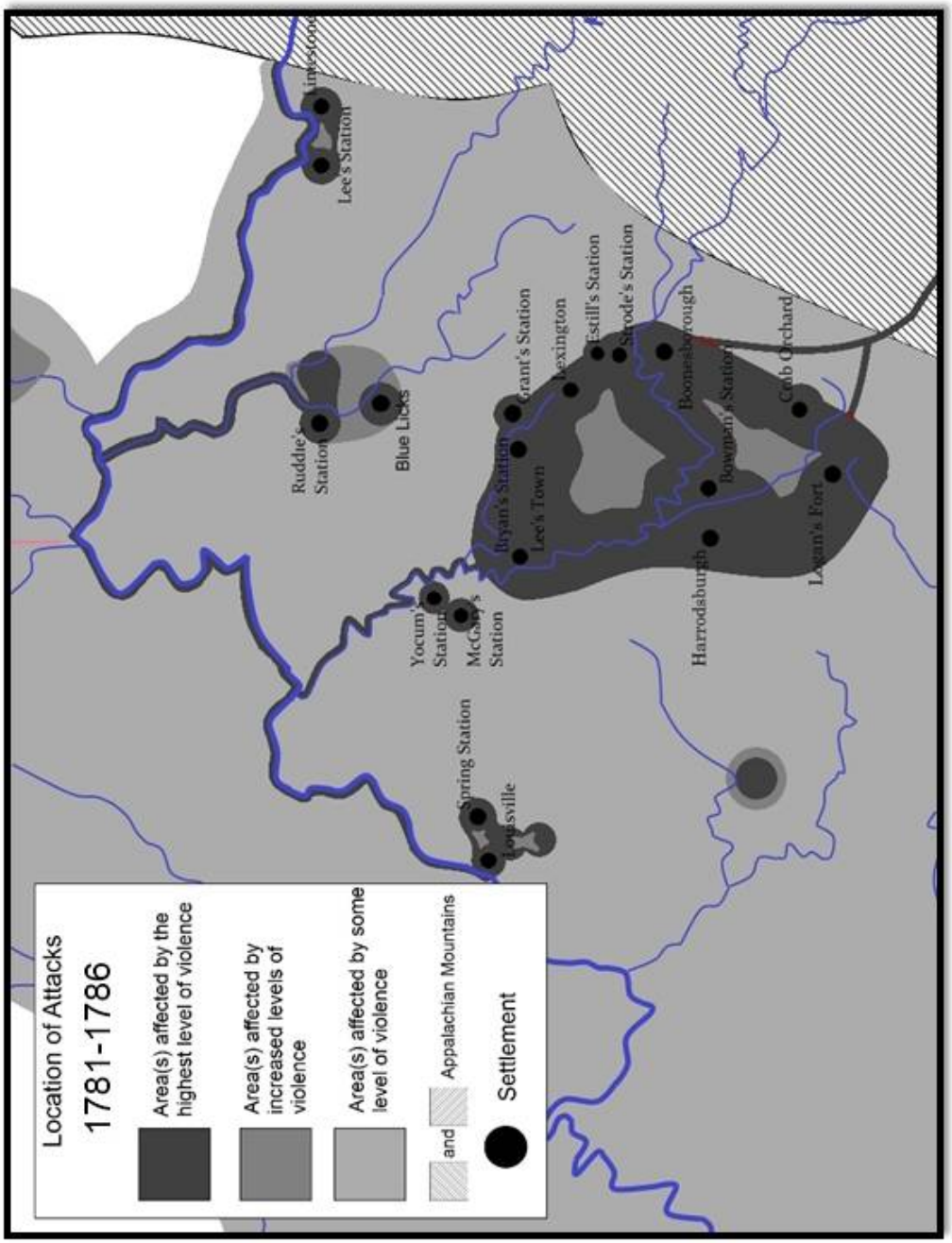

Figure 4 - This map illustrates zones of conflict as they affected Kentucky between the years 1781-1786 in detail

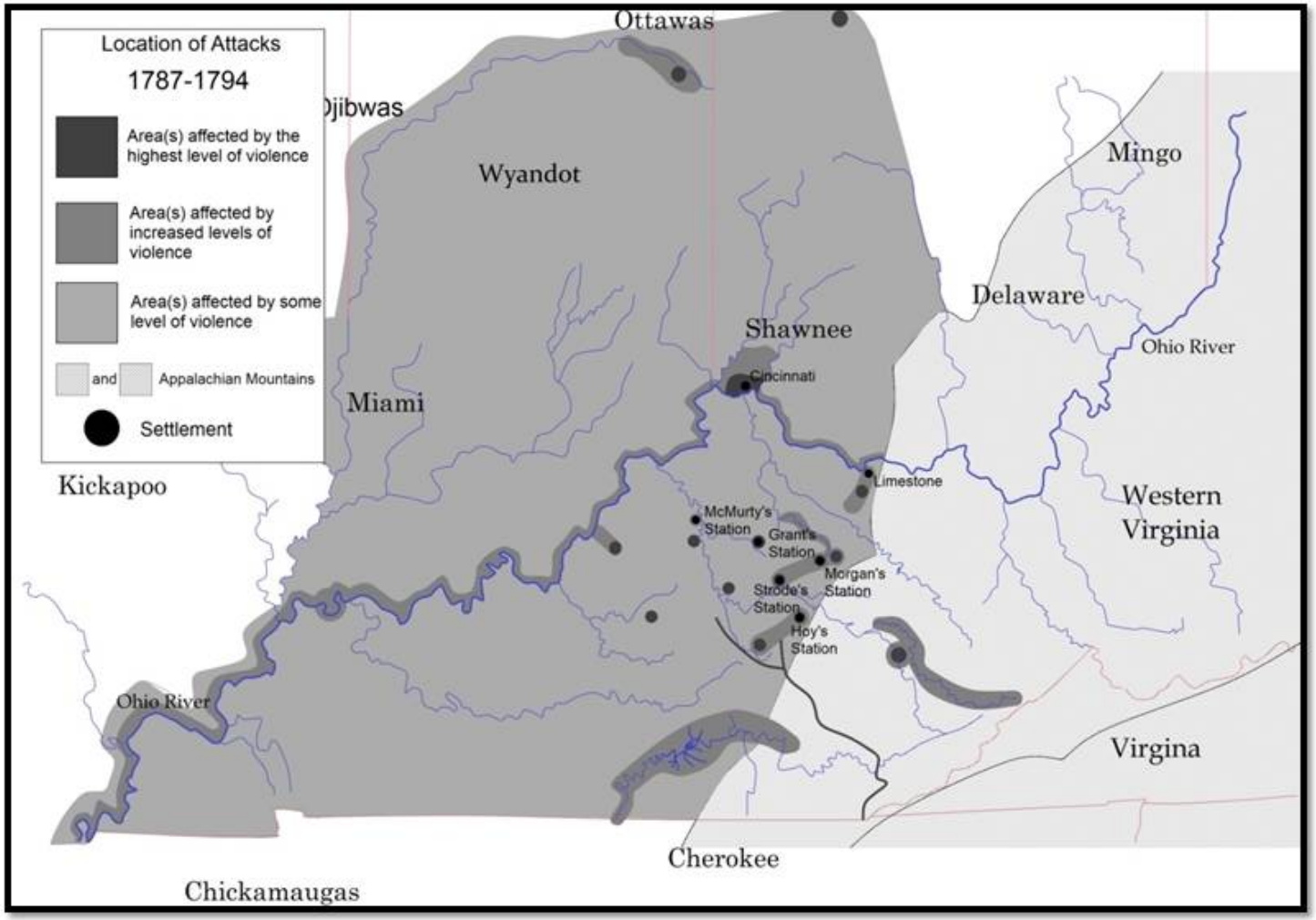

Figure 5 - This map illustrates zones of conflict as they affected Kentucky and the Ohio country between the years 1787 and 1794

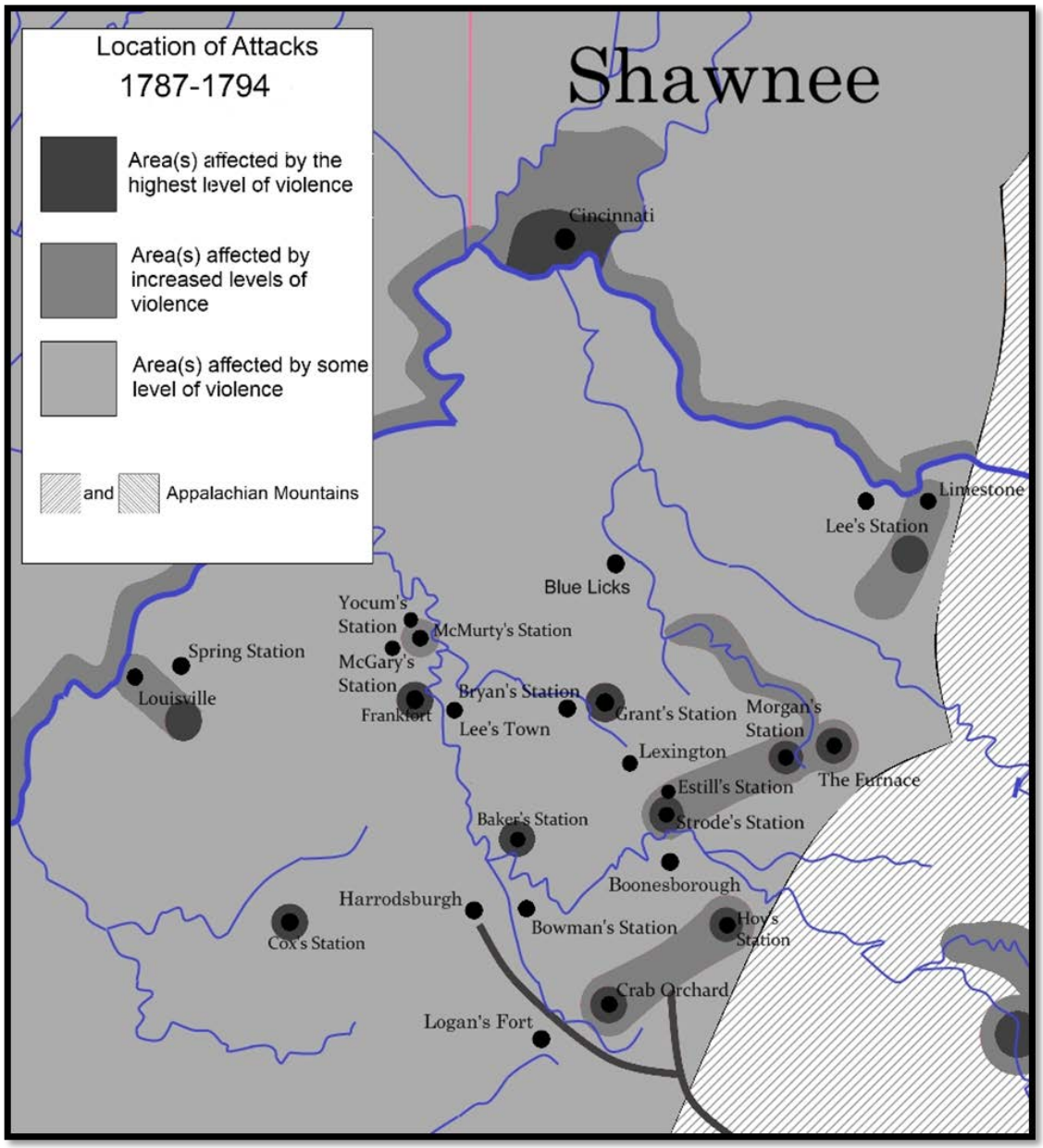

Figure 6 - This map illustrates zones of conflict as they affected Kentucky and the southern Ohio country between the years 1787 and 1794 in detail

apprehensions of the early days of the frontier war; 'we are in a state of utter uncertainty.' Although lacking any real evidence, St. Clair pushed the matter further by suggesting that the

disappearance of two runners was a precursor to a renewed Indian assault north and south of the Ohio River. '[T]here is in my opinion,' St. Clair wrote, 'too much reason to fear they have hostile design, and that the first intimation of it will be a stroke upon some of the settlements.'[31] In other words, so long as the northern tribes remained active and hostile, security was little more than an illusion.

If the Indians were not as boisterous as St. Clair had expected then this may very well have been the result of the divisions which the war had caused among many of the tribes. For some, the continued distance of the settlers facilitated mild or restrained attempts at repulsing them whilst, for others, the sheer duration of the war had acted to split the tribes internally. The Shawnee, one of the most consistent adversaries to settler expansion, had already lost large numbers through combat but the tribe itself was also beginning to fracture as some members looked to settler-free lands further west or accommodation in order to avoid continued hostilities.[32] A year before St. Clair wrote his incendiary letter to the *Kentucky Gazette*, the Kentuckians were made aware – through a published speech from the Shawnee chief Captain Johnny – that at least some members of the tribe sought peace rather than continued war. According to the published account, Captain Johnny pleaded with the settlers to 'take pity on our women and children,' before informing them that his village wished to make 'a decree [of] peace...which our brother the big knife have always said was in our power.' Although many Kentuckians probably dismissed Captain Johnny's words as relatively hollow, the idea that members of such an aggressive tribe wished to 'live like brothers' was likely an appealing one.[33] Indeed, sentiments such as this were precisely the type of rhetoric the government hoped to hear more often from the northern tribes. Words, however, did not equate to peace and Captain Johnny's hopes were not shared by a significant number of other Indians.[34] This situation created a profound problem and a profound opportunity for the United States; obviously, continued Indian aggression severely undermined any hope for a peaceful transition of power and authority within Ohio but so too did such actions serve to agitate the western population. Those who had been lucky enough to establish farms in the now settled parts of the country may not have fostered a strong desire to interrupt their lives

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[31] 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair, October 12th, 1788' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), October 25th, 1788, p. 2
[32] Calloway *The Shawnee and the War for America*, pp. 67-108
[33] 'Captain Johnny's Speech' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), August 25th, 1787, p. 4
[34] Wood *Empire of Liberty*, p. 127

in order march to war, but they nevertheless continued to sympathise and support their stricken frontier contemporaries.[35]

It was not that the settlers had mellowed since the conclusion of the American Revolution, only that the changing shape of the frontier and their slow but steady demographic victory had acted to remove many from the most immediate danger. For those who remained in the firing line, patterns of individual and small group violence continued to predominate and, to all intents and purposes, the frontier war continued as it had before. Writing at the end 1787, Harry Innes attempted to measure the cost which the war had exacted from his local district in the years since the end of the revolution. According to Innes' estimation, over three hundred settlers had been killed between 1783 and 1787 in his locality, with a further fifty taken into captivity and an astounding – and probably exaggerated – twenty thousand horses stolen during this same period.[36] Such estimations, though doubtlessly based upon broad impressions rather than a systematic measurement of the ongoing war, reflect the high level of post-revolutionary devastation that the Indians were continuing to wreak among the settlers. This ongoing decimation continued to promote a pattern of individualistic conflict and retribution on the frontier, providing the settlers with all of the drive they required to continue fighting the Indians. Problematically, this pattern of individual and small group combat did not promise a speedy, efficient, or even achievable removal of the Indians from the lands which the government now coveted. The settlers may have developed a method of fighting this war which afforded them some degree of security, but their approach to the conflict lacked the specific focus the United States would ultimately seek. Although frontier leaders such as George R. Clark and Benjamin Logan had been able to field large groups of settlers against the Indians such campaigns were infrequent and rarely decisive. Following the government's failure to gain Ohio through negotiation and peace treaties it would turn to the settlers but, before it could employ them in any extensive manner, it first had to focus their long running resentments, fears, and animosities before setting itself up as a figurehead for this group to follow.

The United States may have signed treaties with numerous tribes in 1789, even going so far as to demand that 'All the Citizens and Subjects of the United States are hereby required to...abstain from every act of hostility, injury, or injustice to the said nations,' but continued reports of inter-cultural violence almost immediately undid any hope for a peaceful resolution

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[35] 'Letter from Annie Christian to Elizabeth Christian, August 17th, 1787' Bullitt Family Papers A/B937c, Filson Historical Society and 'Appeal for Aid Against the Indians, a Petition to the Inhabitants of Lincoln and Fayette Counties, July 1786' Bullitt Family Papers A/B 937c, Filson Historical Society

[36] 'Letter from Harry Innes to John Brown, December 7th, 1787' Standalone Item, Kentucky Historical Society 97SC190

to the conflict.[37] If anything, the appearance of such proclamations followed in short order by numerous reports of Indian attacks likely served to undermine the idea that peace with the northern tribes could ever be accomplished.[38] When another speech delivered by an Indian chief was printed in the *Kentucky Gazette* later in 1789, the expressed sentiment of peace was almost immediately undermined by follow up reports of continued Indian raids against frontier settlers.[39] Indeed, one of those reports appeared on the very same page as this latest call to bury the hatchet.[40] The chief delivering this speech may have asked the settlers to overlook any further 'bad action[s]' committed by the tribe's young men but such was a tall order for a people who had been fighting the same war since 1774.[41] Such realities fatally undermined the government's attempts to secure Ohio through non-violent means. However much they exerted themselves to this end, the situation on the ground consistently served to undermine their efforts. The government may have ordered a cessation of hostilities but such demands ultimately served only to underline their lack of coercive authority beyond the Appalachians. By attempting to will an end to these hostilities, the government demonstrated a failure to understand western sensibilities. A song published in the paper six weeks after the appearance of this latest speech summed up the underlying sentiments of the Kentuckians which the government had thus far failed to harness but would, in short order, come to exploit:

To the tune of "The dusky night."
COME all you brave Kentuckians,
Who dangers dare to meet:
Come, let us haste, in wars dead guise,
The Savage foe we'll beat
For a fighting we must go, &c.[42]

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[37] 'Letter from Citizens of Marietta, January 27th, 1789' Arthur St. Clair Papers, Roll 2, Folder 1, MIC 96 Series 10 , Ohio Historical Society and 'A PROCLAMATION: By his Excellency Arthur St. Claire Governor and commander in chief of the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), February 28th, 1789

[38] 'Letter from Beverly Randolph to Arthur St. Clair, May 16th, 1789' Arthur St. Clair Papers, Roll 3, Folder 1, MIC 96 Series 10, Ohio Historical Society, 'Letter from John Edward to Harry Innes, July 1st, 1790' Reuben T. Durrett Collection on Kentucky and the Ohio River Valley, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, University of Chicago Library: accessed 10:30am, 3/3/11, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fawbib:1:./temp/~ammem_YSDe:: and 'Report from March 18th, 1789' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), March 21st, 1789, p. 2, 'Report from June 3rd, 1789' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 13th, 1789, p. 2

[39] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), August 15th, 1789, p. 2,

[40] 'Report from "a Gentleman"' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), August 1st, 1789, p. 2

[41] 'Copy of a SPEECH brought by Isaac Freeman from the Chiefs and Warriors of the Maumo towns, July 7th, 1789' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), August 1st, 1789, p. 2

[42] 'For a Fighting We Must Go' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), September 19th, 1789, p. 2. Full lyrics as follows:

The attitude represented by songs of this nature was hardly indicative of a strong desire for peace among the settlers. Indeed, such sentiments reflected the subtext of anti-Indian resentment that had developed and come to fruition over the course of the preceding years of conflict. To complicate matters further, the government had to deal with more than just an aggrieved settler population; the United States also had to attempt to secure peace with the many tribes and native factions north of the Ohio River, however their insistence that the Indians surrender vast tracts of their territory placed them at loggerheads with the very groups they needed to pacify the most.[43] Treaties may have been signed and reconciliatory speeches given, particularly in 1789, but so long as the government demanded territory north of the Ohio those Indians most opposed to settler expansion remained unwilling to cease their hostilities.[44] It is true that the government made numerous efforts to end the war through peaceful means, at least until 1792, but by making demands which the hardliners could not accept, they all but ensured a continuation of hostilities. That does not mean that the government did not continue their attempts to end the war and acquire lands in Ohio peaceably – if only to avoid the potentially crippling cost of another war – but whatever efforts the United States made were undermined by their own focus upon obtaining control of Indian lands. The government also faced the increasing problem of exerting continued sovereignty over the already settled portions of trans-Appalachian region. Throughout the mid-to-late 1780s, a growing division between east and west was threatening to undermine the continued existence of the United States in the western portion of the country.[45] In the inaugural issues of the *Kentucky Gazette*, for instance, those tensions were writ large by the paper's publisher, John Bradford, who wrote that Kentucky was faced by two major challenges. For one, the country was 'harassed by savage enemies,' whilst, for another, it faced being 'drained of money by its present intercourse with the Eastern parts of America.'[46] By identifying the eastern portions of the country as a threat as imposing and dangerous as the Indians, Bradford was making a powerful statement indeed.

'COME all you brave Kentuckians, Who dangers dare to meet: Come, let us haste, in wars dread guise, The savage foe we'll beat, For a fighting we must go, &c. (II) Thro' forefit deep embrown'd by shader, Oh be our country's safety sure, May conquest crown the attack, When a fighting we do go, &c. (III) Then, conquest crown'd we'll haste to ease, Ourselves and sweet[ille]'s se[ill], And o'er our gladsome howls we'll sing, "Kentucky Volunteers." As home in peace we go, &c.'

[43] 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair to Captain James O'Hara, February 12th, 1788' Arthur St. Clair Papers, Roll 2, Folder 4, MIC 96 Series 10, Ohio Historical Society. For the United States' attempts to secure peace in 1789 see Wood *Empire of Liberty*, pp. 88-89, 127-128

[44] 'Letter from Henry Knox to Arthur St. Clair' Arthur St. Clair Papers, Roll 2, Folder 4, MIC 96 Series 10, Ohio Historical Society

[45] 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair to John Jay, December 13th, 1788' in William Henry Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Congress; and Governor of the Northwest Territory with his Correspondence and Other Papers, Volume II* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), pp. 101-105

[46] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), August 18th, 1787, p. 1

By 1790, the west was beginning to head down the path that would ultimately culminate in the Whiskey Rebellion of 1795.[47] However, the government's refusal to give up on the Northwest Territory presented them with an opportunity to foster support in the region for the larger nation before the outbreak of that crisis. By ordering Josiah Harmar to engage the Indians, the government was hoping to force a cessation of northern lands and an end to hostilities; more importantly, by engaging in a direct military intervention it was taking a prominent and proactive leadership role in the western country.[48] By taking advantage of the existing hostilities between the settlers and the Indians – the vast majority of Harmar's force would be comprised of Kentuckians and other frontier veterans – the government could thus lead an army to invade Ohio dealing, apparently head on, with one of the key issues marring that part of the nation.[49] In preceding years, Indian raids had served to terrorize the frontier population but, aside from a number of peace treaties which had failed almost as soon as they were signed, the government had yet to take any direct, effective action in the region.[50] In 1790 this situation was reversed, at least temporarily, when Harmar's campaign became the vehicle through which those still affected by the war could hope to strike back.

On the campaign itself, anti-Indian sentiment was rallied in an even more obvious way as a means of shoring up the relationship between eastern commanders and western militiamen. Following some acts of deliberate psychological warfare designed to unsettle the settlers, Harmar had offered a bounty of wine for the 'first Indians' head brought in,' an incentive that increased morale and trivialised the Indians' threats.[51] Regardless, the offer was too good for a number of the company's militiamen to ignore and, in short order, they had lured an Indian within firing distance of the camp. Having shot but not killed the interloper, the injured Indian had begun 'pleading for his life,' but his assailants, unmoved by his pleas, butchered him, decapitated the body, and presented the head to Harmar who, apparently surprised by the settlers' bloodlust, failed to offer them the promised bounty. Seeking to rectify this situation and remind Harmar of his obligation, the settlers had hung the Indian's head from a beanpole outside the general's tent.[52] In this instance, the Kentuckians' desire to kill Indians had certainly been harnessed, but certainly not within the context of a battle.

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[47] For the development of a desire for western independence on the lead up to the Whiskey Rebellion see Slaughter *The Whiskey Rebellion*, pp. 30-31

[48] 'Letter from Harry Innes to Alexander Bullitt, May 10th, 1790' Bullitt Family Papers A/B937c, Filson Historical Society

[49] For the use of frontier militias on Harmar's campaign see Horsman *Expansion and American Indian Policy*, p. 86

[50] Henry R. Schoolcraft *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States: their Present Condition and Propsects, and a Sketch of their Ancient Status: Published by Order of Congress, Volume Six* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857), pp. 327-333

[51] Morris 'A Sketch of General Harmar's Campaign in 1790,' p. 2

[52] Ibid

Instead, it highlighted a problematic reality which Harmar would, in short order, have to confront directly. The settlers were willing to kill Indians – indeed, they could be manipulated into doing so with relative ease – but their desire to act did not require an explicit framework to be provided by the expedition's officers. To commandeer the words of one contemporary, the government had the frontier wolf by the ears and was unable to either let him go or hold him safely in check.[53] In many ways Harmar's expedition represented, in microcosm, all of the difficulties the government faced when it came to taking an active leadership role in the west. The common enemy offered by the northern tribes presented a broad framework of unity for the nation, but western settlers were hardly willing to submit to eastern authority, even when the interests of both parties aligned against the Indians. Harmar certainly benefited from widespread anti-Indian sentiment in the west but it quickly became evident that he could not hope to control this impulse in the manner he desired.

When the Indians launched an attack upon a detachment under the command of General Hardin – Harmar's second in command – for instance, the settlers had simply refused to stand and fight. Believing that the attack to be a hopeless ambush, they had instead retreated 'at the very onset' of the assault, leaving the regulars who accompanied them to be decimated by their attackers. It was not that the settlers did not want to engage the Indians, but they insisted upon doing so strictly on their own experienced terms. Quite naturally, the expedition's commanders reeled when news of the defeat reached them and the entire force was quickly ordered back south.[54] However, news of a second, smaller Indian force some way behind the army gave Harmar hope that he could salvage something from the debacle and, once again, a force under Hardin's command was dispatched to fight the Indians. Initially, this force once again struggled against the Indians but, as Hardin's officers were wiped out, the Kentuckians were freed to begin fighting in the irregular manner to which they were accustomed and, though they did not gain the unqualified victory that would later be claimed, they were able to take the field.[55] Moreover, they also reclaimed their martial dignity, but only after Hardin's regulars and their officers had been almost completely destroyed. Put simply, the Kentuckians left the field victorious only once they were freed of the regular army's stringent – and as far as Indian fighting was concerned, ineffective – chain of command. Such

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[53] Thomas Jefferson on slavery: '[A]s it is, we have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go.' See 'Letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22nd, 1820' The Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series One, Library of Congress

[54] Morris 'A Sketch of General Harmar's Campaign in 1790,' pp. 2-3

[55] 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair to Henry Knox, October 29th, 1790' and 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair to Henry Knox, November 6th, 1790' in William Henry Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Congress; and Governor of the Northwest Territory with his Correspondence and Other Papers, Volume II* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), pp. 188-189

was the problem faced by the government in the west; the settlers were a potentially invaluable body of Indian fighters, hardened by sixteen years of prior experience with the tribes. Unfortunately, that same group was not easily led, particularly when their would-be commanders demonstrated an almost complete inability to fight the Indians. This situation reached its climax on Harmar's return journey when relations between the officers and the Kentuckians broke down completely. Responding to an ordered flogging of one of their fellows, the Kentuckians had turned their weapons upon Harmar and his regulars, a crisis which was only averted when Harmar, in turn, had the artillery turned upon them.[56]

As a microcosm for the relationship between east and west during the early 1790s, Harmar's campaign did not bode well for the future of the nation. However, this expedition – in spite of the mutiny which marred its conclusion – demonstrated that east and west could be united when a common or shared goal could be identified. By emphasising the danger posed by the tribes in public forums such as the *Kentucky Gazette* supporters of the government had succeeded in turning fear of the tribes and general anti-Indian sentiment into the crucible of unity around which they could leverage, albeit imperfectly, the frontier population to serve its ultimate agenda of pressurising the Indians into surrendering vast portions of Ohio.[57] Of course, the consistent failure of the regulars, and their officers, during this campaign chronically undermined the nature of that relationship, ultimately leading to a breakdown in the dynamic which bound these groups together. That their relationship broke down should not, however, overshadow its existence. In spite of an escalating disparity between west and east, the government had, nevertheless, been able to rally the settlers of the frontier to its banner by emphasising a shared enemy against whom they could fight together. Although the 'proposed severment' of west from east, resulting in the creation of 'independent dominion' was 'THE QUESTION [sic]' of the period for many, the war with the Indians could – and by 1790, did – provide something of a fulcrum of unity.[58] The government may have been holding the proverbial wolf by the ears, but that same beast still knew how to bite and such knowledge did not go unnoticed.

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[56] Following the disbanding of Harmar's forces, General Hardin ordered his own court martial (from which he was exonerated). This trial allowed Hardin to be exonerated whilst moving the failures of this expedition from his shoulders to those of the settlers. 'Hardin's Call for a Court Martial' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), December 4th, 1790, p. 4 and 'Hardin's Exoneration' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), December 11th, 1790, p. 4 and Morris 'A Sketch of General Harmar's Campaign,' p. 4

[57] 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair, October 12th, 1788' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), October 25th, 1788, p. 2, 'Report from "a Gentleman"' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), August 1st, 1789, p. 2, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), July 12th, 1790, p. 2, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), July 19th, 1790, p. 2

[58] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), September 13th, 1788, p. 1

Still, there remained a significant difference between the settlers' and the government's expectations of one another.[59] In spite of this, the government would continue to turn to the settlers in 1791 as a means of forcing peace upon the Indians.[60] To be sure, the government did not abandon its hopes that it could bring the frontier war to a conclusion without escalating the situation but, as 1791 drew on, it became increasingly obvious that most hostile Indians were unwilling to submit to any peace which did not see their lost lands in Ohio returned to them, let alone any peace which demanded the surrender of yet more territory.[61] Though Harmar – or rather, the Kentuckians under his command – had gained the government its first national victory against the Indians, it was hardly decisive and certainly not enough to convince most hostile Indians that the United States was an insurmountable juggernaut. Accordingly two expeditions were planned in 1791 for the purpose of pressurising the Indians to accede to the government's demands for land. Although soured by the failure of Harmar's campaign and reluctant to rely wholly upon frontier militias, the government nonetheless turned to the inhabitants of the backcountry in order to people these campaigns.[62] Fortuitously for them, the number of raids against the backcountry had intensified significantly in the wake of the preceding year's expedition. These increasingly prominent assaults had left a highly visible and emotive trail of bodies which had helped to stir up further anti-Indian sentiment across the region.[63]

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[59] The difference in outlook that separated them is perhaps best summarized by the limitations which the latter attempted to impose upon the former with regards to the formation of local militia bands. In the period before the existence of the constitutional United States, the frontier militia was, as discussed in chapter five, an ad hoc construct which saw the settlers band together when and as the need arose. The only limitations the settlers adhered to were those of practical necessity, or those of their own making. The rise of the new national government challenged this adlibbed organisational structure with limitations, bureaucracy, and regulation. Unlike previous periods where militia bands were essentially extralegal vigilante groups, the government attempted to impose strict limitations upon the size and scope of the bands which would operate under its name. In the 1770s and 1780s the militia groups which were formed to deal with Indian raiding parties could be any size, but in 1790 orders were issued that limited such bands to no more than eight persons. The government may have had its reasons to impose this and other limitations upon the militia, but it demonstrated in doing so an implied lack of trust in the institutions that had developed natively in the west. It also demonstrated a failure to understand the mechanisms which the settlers had, until this point, utilized to ensure their own safety. See 'Letter from Henry Knox to Arthur St. Clair, March 3rd, 1790' Bullitt Family Papers, Filson Historical Society A/B 937c

[60] Wood *Empire of Liberty*, pp. 129-130

[61] Nelson *A Man of Distinction Among* Them, pp. 160-161

[62] 'Letter from Harry Innes, Benjamin Logan and Isaac Shelby to the Lieutenant of Jefferson County, June 11th, 1791' Bullitt Family Papers, Filson Historical Society A/B 937c

[63] In one instance the Kentucky militia discovered a boat filled with at least sixteen dead settlers as it drifted unguided down the Ohio River; such was the horror and significance that greeted this discovery that Benjamin Allen would recall the sight of it in detail almost half a century later to John Shane. Even those deaths and attacks which did not occur south of the Ohio were widely reported in the *Kentucky Gazette* in a series of articles which collectively suggested to the paper's readership that the war, far from winding down, was reaching yet another peak. When William McDonald and Nathaniel Allen prepared to set off on a journey up the Ohio, they attempted to gather as many aspiring travellers

News of attacks in the north, attacks in Kentucky itself, and attacks upon Kentuckians travelling to southern locations, such as Tennessee, helped to reinforce the image among many settlers that they were not just at war with a select few northern tribes, but all Indians. Reflecting upon the losses incurred during these latest attacks, 'a correspondent' would editorialise in the *Kentucky Gazette* that 'every hour produces fresh evidence, of the futility of treating with a race of beings, who acknowledge no laws, human or divine, and who can be restrained from outrage and hostilities, by a sense of personal danger only.' Having described all Indians as natural enemies of the settlers, the correspondent continued to push his advantage by dismissing the notion that peace could be obtained through any means other than the rifle and tomahawk. Calling his fellow settlers to arms against all Indians, the correspondent finished by declaring that 'the people of Kentucky, with one heart and with one hand [should] go to the glorious work,' of destroying the Indians, 'and never cease their exercises, until it is happily terminated.'[64] Even in the eastern part of Ohio, a region settled by groups of New Englanders who prided themselves upon being able to engage peacefully with the Indians, increased raids served to radicalise the population. As Patrick Griffin put it, these one-time Indian sympathisers 'had become Kentuckians.'[65] With Indian raids on the increase, the settlers were already primed for further hostilities by the time the government's planned expeditions began to materialise in the summer.[66] Although the United States was hardly responsible for the panic caused by increased raiding upon the frontier, they fully capitalised upon it. Once again, the government found itself in a position to take a direct leadership role in the west and, it hoped, a position to force the northern tribes to capitulate to its demands. Harmar's campaign may have flirted with disaster but the effects of Indian raids were such that the divisions between east and west could once again be sidelined by a common set of goals. John Jay's failure in 1786 to open the Mississippi River to western inhabitants may have demonstrated a failure on the part of the eastern states to recognise the interests of those in

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together as they could in order to ensure the safety of their boats. Reflecting upon the necessity of this arrangement, McDonald and Allen reminded the newspaper's readers that 'the depredations of the savages have been excessively bad this spring,' and that 'none but those who may be well armed need expect passage.' See *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), March 26th, 1791, p. 2, John D. Shane 'Interview with Benjamin Allen' Draper Manuscripts 11CC67-69, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), March 26th, 1791, p. 3, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), February 5th, 1791, p. 2, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 16th, 1791, p. 2, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 23rd, 1791, p. 2*, Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 30th, 1791, p. 2, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), May 7th, 1791, p. 1

[64] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), May 7th, 1791, p. 2

[65] Griffin 'Reconsidering the Ideological Origins of Indian Removal,' p. 26

[66] 'Letter from Major Isaac Craig to General Knox, March 6th, 1791' in William Henry Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Congress; and Governor of the Northwest Territory with his Correspondence and Other Papers, Volume II* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), pp. 201-202

the west, but campaigns such as those taking place in 1791 served to provide a very physical counterpoint to such ideas.[67]

The first of the year's major expeditions set off on May 23rd and was comprised of around eight hundred and fifty settlers under the command of future Kentucky governor Charles Scott. In spite of being a relatively ineffective military exercise, this campaign did serve to boost the community's morale when the force returned from the north without having received a single fatality at the hands of the Indians.[68] In addition to this remarkable preservation of settler life, the expedition's commanders claimed credit for killing over fifty warriors whilst taking a similar number of Indians prisoner. Moreover, the commanders of this campaign were also able to claim that the Kentuckians had worked proficiently, following orders, and showing considerable levels of restraint. According to a narrative of the expedition published shortly after its completion, 'no acts of inhumanity have marked the conduct of the volunteers of Kentucky on this occasion, even the...habit of scalping the dead ceased.'[69] Such an assessment of the Kentuckian's behaviour reflected the desire of many in the country to see them rise above their prior approach to the war, an attitude to which this writer was happy to pander. According to this narrative, the settlers were indeed capable of operating as an army, and not just as a rabble. That army, however, had consisted entirely of settlers and unlike Harmar's campaign the previous year there was simply no one for the Kentuckians to rebel against. Rather than having a direct relationship with the US army, Scott's expedition was instead a government sanctioned campaign carried out by the frontier community.[70] Scott may have marched with the blessings of the government, but his forces were free of the perceived interference that could be expected from outside officers and generals.

Although Scott's expedition was a relative success it failed to bring the war any closer to a favourable conclusion. Still, the Indians raided the frontier as they had before.[71] If the government hoped to bring hostilities to an end it could not rely upon the whims of the frontier population to accomplish this goal. To be sure, the government fully intended to utilize the settlers in its coming plans but it only intended to do so within a context over which it had

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[67] For the impact of John Jay's Mississippi failure upon relations between the east and west see Woods *Empire of Liberty*, p. 113

[68] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 13th, 1791, p. 3 and John D. Shane 'Interview with George Fearis' Draper Manuscripts 13CC238-244, and *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), July 23rd, 1791, p. 2

[69] 'Account of the Expedition under General Scott, against the Savages of the Wabash' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 25th, 1791, pp. 2-3

[70] 'Letter from Lieutenant Denny to General Josiah Harmar, March 9th, 1791' in William Henry Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Congress; and Governor of the Northwest Territory with his Correspondence and Other Papers, Volume II* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), pp. 200-201

[71] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), July 2nd, 1791, p. 2, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), July 9th, 1791, p. 2 and *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), October 8th, 1791, p. 3

direct authority and, even before Scott had led the Kentuckians into Ohio, government officials had begun planning a second expedition which, it was hoped, would finally force the Indians to sue for peace. This 'matter of immediate importance' was to be commanded not by a Kentuckian, but by the governor of the Northwest Territory, Arthur St. Clair and, in addition to a body of regular soldiers, his force was to be supplemented – in an echo of Harmar's campaign – by a large body of settlers.[72] For his part, St. Clair was certainly aware of the growing challenges posed by the nascent movement for western independence. Writing to John Jay at the very end of 1788, he had made his concerns plain, writing that States with western claims, such as Virginia, would 'lose not only their people,' and the 'value of their soil,' but risked, if this movement continued, 'laying the foundation of the greatness of a new country.'[73] However, St. Clair also recognised that the recent success of Scott's campaign would send those same potential rebels to his banner in droves.[74] Like George Clark, Benjamin Logan, Charles Scott and even Lord Dunmore before him, St. Clair was providing the settlers with an opportunity to strike back as a collective at the Indians. A spectrum of issues may have complicated the relationship between east and west but the chance to attack Indians remained enough to unite them.

In spite of the unity provided by the promise of killing Indians, St. Clair's force echoed that led by Harmar the previous year in both composition and underlying tension. Although St. Clair did not have to face an open mutiny, he was faced with a no-less potent challenge to his authority; desertion. As his force moved north it appears that large numbers of the frontier militia and the levies – men commissioned into the regular army for just six months – lost faith in their federal commander.[75] Almost from the outset, St. Clair had failed to demonstrate any understanding of how warfare with the Indians would have to be conducted if there was to be any hope of success. Those under the governor's command may not have elected him to lead this army, but they were certainly willing to vote with their feet when he demonstrated time

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[72] 'Letter from George Washington to Colonel Darke, April 4th, 1791' in William Henry Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Congress; and Governor of the Northwest Territory with his Correspondence and Other Papers, Volume II* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), p. 203

[73] 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair to John Jay, December 13th, 1788' in Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers*, p. 103

[74] Arthur St. Clair *A Narrative of the Manner in which the Campaign against the Indians, in the Year of Seven Hundred and Ninety One, was Conducted, under the Command of Major General Arthur St. Claire, Together with his Observations on the Statements of the Secretary of War and the Quarter Master General, Relative thereto, and the Reports of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Causes of the Failure Thereof* (Philadelphia: Jane Aitken, 1812), p. 7

[75] 'Extract from the Diary of Major Ebenezer Denny, Aid-de-Camp to Major General St. Clair' in William Henry Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Congress; and Governor of the Northwest Territory with his Correspondence and Other Papers, Volume II* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), p. 252

and again how unsuited he was to the position.[76] Even among those who stayed, discipline remained a serious issue. Before St. Clair's forces had had an opportunity to engage the Indians in a large scale battle, his army was already in serious danger of collapsing under the weight of its commander's incompetence and the settlers' lack of faith.[77] By the time the expedition lumbered towards its final destination, St. Clair could count only a little over fourteen hundred men under his command; over a third of his force had abandoned him. If that situation was not bad enough, the defeat suffered by St. Clair's army when it finally did engage the Indians was not only the worst defeat suffered by any group during the frontier war, but was also the worst single defeat the United States would ever suffer at Indian hands with over six hundred dead and over two hundred and fifty wounded.[78] In one fell swoop, St. Clair had justified the lack of faith shown in him by the Kentuckians.

Almost immediately, however, the governor had attempted to spin the disaster to the government's advantage. In a letter printed in the *Kentucky Gazette*, St. Clair wrote of the 'great regret I feel for the loss [the militia] have suffered.' Going further, he attempted to emphasise the cooperation which had occurred between the settlers, the west, and the regular army and its commanders, the east. 'It is with pleasure,' he wrote, '[that] I acknowledge the satisfaction received from their general orderly behaviour, and the harmony and good understanding that prevailed between them.'[79] Although St. Clair had led the United States into its worst ever defeat against the Indians, the governor was keen to extract whatever political mileage he could from the situation. By emphasising the level of cooperation between the settlers and the army, St. Clair was effectively attempting to marry the interests of the east and west, even in the face of absolute defeat, around the struggle with the northern tribes. Indeed, going further he would attempt to lay the blame for his defeat squarely upon those settlers who had not been willing to stand with their national government. According to the governor, 'the cause of the misfortune that befell us,' could be laid upon the shoulders of those who 'did desert the service of their country at a critical moment.'[80] If the government had first hoped to harness the power of the settlers to pressurise the Indians into accepting peace, and to shore up the relationship between the western and eastern parts of the county, St. Clair was

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[76] Grenier *The First Way of War: American*, pp. 198-199
[77] 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair to Henry Knox, November 1st, 1791' in William Henry Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Congress; and Governor of the Northwest Territory with his Correspondence and Other Papers, Volume II* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), p. 249
[78] Grenier *The First Way of War: American*, pp. 198-199
[79] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), December 10th, 1791, p. 3
[80] Ibid

demonstrating that they could also act as scapegoats in a last ditch attempt to shore up the government's position.[81]

St. Clair's defeat was not just a calamity for those directly involved in the affair, but a calamity for the entirety of the frontier exposing, as it did, the weaknesses of the United States in the west. Within one week of the army's destruction news had reached Kentucky of the disaster, 'alarming' settlers who prepared themselves for further raids from the sure-to-be emboldened northern tribes.[82] If the settlers had been suspicious of following their government into battle before, St. Clair's defeat did little to change that situation. For the next two years the inhabitants of the frontier returned to the defensive, individualistic war to which they were previously accustomed. Throughout 1792 and 1793, the northern tribes continued to raid the settlements but even victorious they could not undo the natural victory of demography which the settlers had already unknowingly secured.[83] In 1793, for instance, the Indians would successfully sack the settlement of Morgan's Station in Kentucky however this would be their last major victory in that country.[84] During that same period, the United States was forced to reassess its approach towards the frontier war, moving towards a more a complete involvement in the conflict; following St. Clair's defeat the government was now committed to the war and determined to break Indian resistance north of the Ohio River. Their first major accomplishment came not in battle but in 1792 when they finally placed the federal army in the hands of a capable Indian fighter, Anthony Wayne. Unlike St. Clair and his predecessors, Wayne did not believe that the settlers could be harnessed as a raw force to execute the nation's western war but instead focused upon training an army for the specific purpose of fighting the Indians. To be sure, Wayne fully intended to draw upon the settlers to supplement his army, but he certainly did not intend to rely upon an untrained force – either regulars or settlers – in order to overcome the Indians.[85] Nor did the government intend to

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[81] Arthur Campbell certainly agreed with this position when he wrote the following year that 'I expect that you are convinced now it would have been best, that the Kentucky [militia] had made a great effort last year to have aided the Federal Troops, and so terminated the war.' See 'Arthur Campbell to Isaac Shelby, March 20th, 1792' James Young Love Papers A/L897, Filson Historical Society

[82] 'Letter from Samuel W. Donnell to Andrew Reid, December 8th, 1791' Filson Collection A/M138, Filson Historical Society. See also 'Courier from Brigadier General Scott, November 11th, 1791' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), November 12th, 1791, p. 3

[83] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), February 25th, 1792, p. 3, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), March 3rd, 1792, p. 3, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 7th, 1792, p. 3, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 14th, 1792, p. 3, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 21st, 1792, p. 3, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), April 28th, 1792, p. 2, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), May 5th, 1792, p. 3, *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 30th, 1792, p. 2, 'Letter from John Breckinridge to Colonel Joseph Cabell, May 10th, 1793' Breckinridge-Marshall Papers A/B829 Folder One, Filson Historical Society, 'Letter from William Blout to Isaac Shelby, April 13th, 1793' Standalone Item 49W22, University of Kentucky Archive

[84] John D. Shane 'Interview with Major Black' Draper Manuscripts 12CC151-152

[85] 'Letter from Anthony Wayne to Charles Scott, September 26th, 1793' James Young Love Papers A/L897, Filson Historical Society

cease its attempts to appeal to the western settlers whose growing sense of a regional identity was becoming an ever more prominent issue.[86]

1792 represented a turning point in the United States' attitude towards the frontier war. Rather than attempting to pressurise the Indians into suing for peace, the government now intended to defeat the tribes and, throughout the year, they commenced a post-St. Clair propaganda campaign designed to lure the settlers back to the banner of the United States by highlighting the common foe they shared in the northern Indians.[87] Unlike its previous stance from 1789 to 1791, the government now looked upon the Indians not as a group that needed to be cowed but as a group which needed to be defeated. This shift in attitude brought western and eastern ideas about the northern tribes into much closer alignment and, through secretary of war Henry Knox, the government appealed to the settlers of the west to once again align behind their shared national interests. Writing in an open letter which appeared in the *Kentucky Gazette* that summer, Knox sought to remind the inhabitants of the frontier of 'that great numbers of inoffensive men, women and children...[who] fell a sacrifice to the barbarous warfare practiced by the Indians.' Like so many contemporaries, Knox not only ignored the aggressions committed by the settlers, but effectively attempted to erase them from history when he stated authoritatively that the Indians' 'aggressions were entirely unprovoked.' Essentially, Knox was attempting to demonstrate that the government's interests in the west were the same as the region's inhabitants; the campaigns of 1790 and 1791 had been commissioned not for the betterment of the national government, but to 'establish peace with all [the northern] tribes,' a plan ultimately designed to protect the inhabitants of the backcountry.[88] To be sure, the government's unwavering focus upon obtaining land in Ohio, or as St. Clair put it, 'provi[di]ng a fund for paying our national debt,' restrained any realistic hope that peace could be obtained but it did, nevertheless, provide ostensible proof that the government's interests concerned the betterment of the settlers.[89]

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[86] Harry S. Layver 'Rethinking the Social Role of the Militia: Community-Building in Antebellum Kentucky' *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 68 (2002): 777-816, pp. 784-785

[87] 'Letter from George Washing to the Editor of the Kentucky Gazette, January 16th, 1792' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 23rd, 1792, p. 1

[88] 'An Open Letter from Henry Knox on the Causes of the Indian War (I),' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 23rd, 1792, pp. 1-2

[89] The importance of the United States' desire to confirm their ownership of Ohio should not be under estimated during this period. Following the conclusion of the frontier war the government demonstrated a significant ability to arbitrate and defuse conflicts between settlers and Indians on its frontier territories when its own demands for lands were either absent or manageable. To be sure, relations with the northern tribes would decline on the lead up to the War of 1812 but it is telling that the vast majority of the Shawnee refused to follow Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, into renewed hostilities against the United States during this period. Indeed, with the exception of the War of 1812, the government would demonstrate a particular ability to negotiate and defuse potentially disastrous occurrences in both the trans-Appalachian and trans-Mississippi western territories. Put

More vivid still was the extensive list of estimated costs which the war had thus far exacted from the settler community since the end of the Revolution. According to Knox, the Indians had, between the years 1783 and 1790, 'killed, wounded and took prisoners, about one thousand five hundred men, women and children, besides carrying off upwards of over two thousand horses and other property to the amount of fifty thousand dollars.'[90] The message was clear; the United States may have stood as a defeated force in the face of the Indians, but their defeat had been glorious, occurring in the name of the western population. At any rate, that was the impression which Knox and the government hoped to foster. More than a justification for St. Clair's defeat, Knox's letter sought to tie the settlers once again to the federal government by harnessing the pervasive and enduring anti-Indian sentiment which abounded in the west. In particular, the government hoped to capitalize not just upon communal anger, but the fear that the embryonic settlements of Ohio – upon which many westerners were now beginning to focus their attention – would be subjected to a frontier war as intense and as enduring as that which had plagued the areas south of the Ohio River for the past eighteen years.

Nor was Knox the only person attempting to harness the settlers' attitude towards the Indians in order to shore up the relationship between east and west. A month prior to Knox's public correspondence, adamant federalist and known Indian hater Hugh Henry Brackenridge wrote a similar appeal to the people of the frontier filled with spin and anti-Indian sentiment.[91] According to Brackenridge, only three friendly Indians had been killed in the Ohio Valley since the end of the American Revolution, and even the loyalty of those individuals was, at the very least, questionable. In his open letter, Brackenridge was intensely critical of those who decried the frontier war as unjustified, describing 'men who are unacquainted with the savages like young women who have read romances, and have an improper idea of the Indian character in one case as the female mind has of real life in the other.' The implication in Brackenridge's remarkable letter was clear; the Indians were the natural enemies of the settlers whilst those who supported the anti-Indian cause, such as the government, shared a direct interest with the inhabitants of the frontier. Whatever could be said about the effectiveness of the government's choice in generals, their motives – in the eyes of Brackenridge, at least – had

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simply, it was the government's desire for the Ohio valley which held back its own attempts to establish peace within the region. See Calloway *The Shawnee*, pp. 126-154, Stephen Aron *American confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), p. 206, for quote from St. Clair see 'Letter from Arthur St. Clair to John Jay, December 13th, 1788' in Smith (ed.) *The St. Clair Papers*, p. 103

[90] 'An Open Letter from Henry Knox on the Causes of the Indian War (II),' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 30th, 1792, pp. 2

[91] Claude M. Newlin *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932)

been just.[92] Such words and sentiments were powerful devices, but they were not the only tools which the government and its supporters employed to regain the support of the settlers. Policy changes towards the army, particularly regarding the pay offered to privates, helped to shore up the image that the government was taking its attempts to win the war against the Indians seriously. To dispel any ambivalence towards the government's motives, an extract from a letter written by a 'member of Congress' was published in the *Kentucky Gazette* which once again made the connection explicit by describing the legislation then being passed through the house as 'a bill providing for the defence of the frontier.' Curiously, that particular piece was sandwiched between a letter written by St. Clair describing further Indian atrocities and a public notice informing the inhabitants of Woodford County that Colonel John Finne had been appointed to collect the unpopular taxes now being levied upon whiskey.[93]

Whatever the intent of those in power, the years before Anthony Wayne was ready to take to the field saw the frontier continue to labour under the hardships inflicted by the war. Indian raids were frequent, affecting not just the settlements of Ohio, but the frontier regions south of the river also. These continued raids and assaults along with the apparent failure of the United States to intervene served to undermine the government's credibility in the west. It was within this context that those with anti-federal leanings occasionally attempted to commandeer the governments' continuing failure against the Indians to further widen the divide between the settlers and those in command of the nation. When soldiers from New England, for instance, arrived at Fort Washington one newspaper correspondent described them as cutting a 'shocking figure,' looking as they did 'more like a band of beggars than Federal soldiers for the defence of our frontiers – God help us if we had no other defence.'[94] Such observations mirrored attempts made in 1775 to smear Dunmore's name following his victory against the Indians in 1774; in this case such accounts were attempting to underline the idea that federal soldiers were useless Indian fighters. Put simply, the writer of this piece was suggesting that the government would never be able to lead the west effectively in their war against the Indians. After all, what did soldiers from New England know about fighting the Indians?

Rarely, however, did such accusation go unchallenged by federal sympathisers with one such individual describing these very same soldiers as being 'as well clothed as any Kentucky beau.'[95] The state of attire worn by federal soldiers may have been a cause for concern among

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[92] 'Farther and Concluding Thought on the Indian War by H. H. Brackenrige of Pittsburgh' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), May 19th, 1792, p. 1
[93] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), March 24th, 1792, p. 3
[94] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), December 1st, 1792, p. 2
[95] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), December 22nd, 1792, p. 2

some settlers, but the government was nonetheless moving forward with its plan to bring the frontier war to a decisive and profitable end. Running alongside treaty negotiations – which could not succeed whilst the United States refused to remove the settlers now living north of the Ohio River – were continuing preparations for another campaign designed to succeed where St. Clair's had failed.[96] With Anthony Wayne continuing to train and drill his Legion, government officials attempted to capitalise upon its prior public relations campaign in order to mobilize the settlers for a final push against the Indians. The division between the federal government and the settlers, however, remained large and even Charles Scott struggled throughout most of 1793 to gather sufficient support south of the border to supplement Wayne's new army of Indian fighters. According to the army's quartermaster, James O'Hara, Wayne was 'labouring all that a mortal man could do,' in order to rally support from a reluctant frontier population.[97]

Distrust and division may have worked to separate the settlers from their government, but continuing raids and rumours of a forthcoming assault by thousands of Indians helped, by the beginning of 1794, to overcome the chasm which separated these two bodies.[98] By the summer of that year, Wayne was able to call for volunteers from Kentucky and Ohio in order to round out the army with which he intended to force the Indians to sue for peace. By the middle of July, the general had led his combined force north into the Indian's territory, camping briefly upon the site where St. Clair had been defeated almost three years before. According to one veteran of Wayne's campaign, 'the battleground...was literally covered with the bones of men who had fallen in battle.'[99] If such a sight had served to undermine the settlers' confidence in the government appointed general who led them, it also served to underline why they believed their invasion of the Indian's country was necessary. Undeterred by the sight of the potential failure that awaited his forces, Wayne pressed his army forward until it met a large multi-tribal force at the site known simply as Fallen Timbers. The resulting battle –

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[96] 'The progress of the war is again arrested by a stroke of Indian policy, we are to treat with them on their own terms, next season at the Omet, these tawny dogs greatly out council us and out general us. A correspondent observes that it is to be wished, by every good man who has any regard for the welfare of his country that the intelligence may prove a mistake. Can our public servants be capable of holding any treaty with savages, whose hands are still reeking with the blood of their fellow citizens and of their wives and children; nay reeking even with the blood of valuable men sent to them as messengers of peace, under the sacred protection of a flag – those murders still unattoned for? Can they submit to make the sacrifice of public interest and faith the basis of so disgraceful a treaty. Every good citizen must hope not.' *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), February 2nd, 1793, p. 2

[97] 'Letter from James O'Hara to Isaac Craig, September 28th, 1793' The Isaac Craig Collection from the Carnegie Library, transcribed by Richard C. Knopf, Volume I-B, Vol. 1153, Ohio Historical Society

[98] *Kentucky Gazette* (Bradford), June 1st, 1793, p. 2,

[99] William Sudduth and John D. Shane (ed.) 'A Sketch of the Life of William Sudduth' Draper Manuscripts 12CC89-96

although a victory for the United States – hardly resulted in the Indian's suffering a defeat comparable to that suffered by St. Clair, but it was, nevertheless, a decisive victory.[100]

In many ways, Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers was a physical representation of demography in motion as the beleaguered Indians who had fought to retain control of their lands came up against a force far larger than anything they could conceivably field.[101] Even though the tribes had inflicted a loss upon the Americans that would have crippled their own war effort in 1791, the appearance of Wayne's monumental army was a harbinger which the Indians could no longer ignore. The frontier war may not have ended in the massacre many settlers would have preferred but it had, finally, come to an end. Crucially, its conclusion was inseparable from the actions of the national government who, in spite of all the misgivings that had plagued its ability to execute a successful war in the west, had finally accomplished what the settlers alone had failed to do throughout the past two decades. As Wayne himself put it, '[T]he fire kindled at the Miami of the Lake [was] extinguished by the blood of the hydra.'[102]

Closure

Throughout the 1780s, the United States government had grown increasingly estranged from the western part of the country, a process which seemed, at times, to suggest a near inevitable separation of the two. By pursuing peace with the Indians whilst attempting to restrain its frontier population, the government appeared, from a western perspective, to be working against the best interests of the trans-Appalachian population. For the United States, an Indian war in the Ohio Valley was something to be avoided; for the settlers of this region, however, it was simply an inevitable part of the frontier experience. This division underlined the growing schism which marred the early years of the republic but the government's ambitions in Ohio ultimately served to bring east and west together around a common enemy – a common Other – in the northern tribes. Over the course of the frontier war, resentment and fear of the Indians had been building, a process fuelled by physical and psychological warfare, the destruction of lives and livelihoods, and the breaking of familial ties. This social cataclysm had initially served to underline the differences between east and west but, as the United States continued to fixate upon securing the Ohio Valley whilst their peace initiatives with the Indians failed, these same forces proved to be an invaluable method of rallying western settlers to an

[100] 'Journal of Charles Scott' Standalone Item A/S425, Filson Historical Society
[101] Alan D. Gaffe *Bayonets in the Wilderness: Anthony Wayne's Legion in the Old Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), pp. 301-361
[102] 'Letter from Anthony Wayne to Charles Scott, September 26th, 1793' James Young Love Papers A/L897, Filson Historical Society

eastern banner. By taking advantage of deep rooted anti-Indian ideas created and perpetuated by the frontier war, the government found that it was able to accomplish two goals simultaneously.

First, it was able to furnish expeditions sent against the Indians with a body of experienced, albeit difficult to manage, Indian fighters. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, this same residue of war allowed the government to take a more fundamental leadership role in the west since any period following the end of the American Revolution up to that point. The United States may have fixated upon Ohio for its own economic purposes, but that single minded determination to secure lands nevertheless brought the government into alignment with its radicalised western population. More than an incidental side effect, communal anger and resentment generated by prior fighting provided the government with an essential tool it could, and ultimately would, employ to bring the settlers of the west into the national fold. By aggressively pursuing sovereignty in Ohio, the United States set itself up as a figurehead around which the masses of the west could rally. In so doing, the government renewed the bond of nationhood in the west and, simultaneously, secured the lands in Ohio they so badly coveted. The government may not have wanted a war against the Indians, but they certainly made the most of it.

Indeed, by 1792 – when almost all pretence of negotiating a settlement with the Indians was abandoned – agents and sympathisers of the government began to proactively take advantage of widespread anti-Indian sentiment in the west in order to shore up federal power beyond the Appalachians. Fear, resentment and anger were more than just the fallout of the frontier war. They were an abstract impulse, sentiments and ideas that served to ideologically separate the settler population from the Indians. Through the cumulative experience of combat, the loss of life, and the destruction of social networks, a wedge was driven between the competing peoples of the backcountry. Or, to put it another way, the fear and resentment generated by the frontier war built walls which served to separate settler from Indian; fear built a wall of division along the frontier. To be sure, such a summation drifts towards the purple end of the prose spectrum but it does, nonetheless, capture in a very few words one of the core arguments of this chapter. After years of continuous warfare, the settlers and Indians grew to fear and resent one another, a process which created, reconstituted, and reinforced walls of division between these two peoples. The fear and resentment in question was not necessarily an everyday, conscious experience but it was certainly a subtext of each culture; it was experienced daily in the abstract if not the literal sense. The Indians feared the settlers would take their lands. They feared that their way of life would be disrupted, if not destroyed by the arrival of Euro-Americans west of the Appalachians.

They also came to fear settler attacks, the destruction of their corn, the loss of loved ones through the ensuing violence, and the transformation of the landscape to suit settler ends. The settlers, of course, feared much also. They feared that the Indians would deny them land and, with that, any meaningful sense of freedom in the early modern world they inhabited. They feared the loss of companions, compatriots and family members. They also feared captivity, torture, and mutilation. For that matter, so too did their enemies; on both sides, they feared for their lives.

Throughout the duration of the frontier war, these forces had been utilized to advance a spectrum of personal agendas, ranging from Logan's quest for revenge in 1774, to Dunmore's attempt to shore up his position in the aftermath of the subsequent war which bore his name. Similarly, charismatic individuals such as George R. Clark had been able to gain large amounts of personal prestige and authority when they presented themselves as the solution to the more immediate dangers which so concerned the settlers throughout the 1770s and 1780s. Likely the most significant attempt to take advantage of these forces, however, came in the 1790s when the United States utilized fear and anti-Indian resentment to assume a leadership role in the final years of the frontier war, a process which benefitted the government through the legitimising process of victory and the resultant windfall of Ohio lands it would receive as a result. If fear and resentment built walls which separated settler from Indian, they could be used to build bridges between potential allies. These forces, however, did more than that. They also endured, long after the Treaty of Greenville brought the frontier war to a close in 1795. Indeed, they would endure – along with the lines of division they helped to enforce – for decades to come, underlining, informing and driving national policy towards the Indians throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. As this chapter has demonstrated, the fear and resentment generated by the war could, and was, manipulated by a number of parties over the course of the conflict, culminating with the actions of the United States government in the 1790s. As the nineteenth century dawned, however, that same force would take on an life of its own as it was perpetuated through strong oral traditions, shared with neighbours and passed on to children.

Conclusion

By the 1830s and 1840s the frontier war in the Kentucky country was a memory. Where hard and bloody battles had been fought settlements now stood. Where settlers and Indians had once utilized the natural features of the land – the trees, the shrubbery, and the rivers – to disguise themselves and launch secret attacks, now stood open fields. Where once two groups had met in mutual animosity now stood only one, unquestioned in its victory; the war was a memory. As John Shane travelled across Kentucky and southern Ohio, collecting interviews with survivors of the frontier war, he thus moved across a landscape necessarily different from the one experienced by his subjects four or five decades before. He moved across the land free from the danger posed by raiding parties, ignorant that the call of an owl could herald an ambush into which he was about to wander. He moved unhindered by the thought that in his absence a dear family member or treasured acquaintance was, even then, having their brains dashed out by a tomahawk. He moved across roads which had once been trampled into existence by the buffalo, now three decades gone from a country which showed signs that they had ever been there only to those who knew where to look. He walked those traces unhindered by the threat that had once been posed to his progenitors by a people whose livelihood they were destroying. The war was a memory.

In short, Shane was free from the life and experiences which had been described to him hundreds of times before but, for all that, he was not free of the war. The war was a memory, to be sure, but it was a powerful one shaped by formative encounters, reinforced by collective experience, and integrated into a world view that continued to shape and guide actions and understanding.[1] Indeed, Shane's quest for narratives began around the time that Black Hawk had stood against the settlers of Illinois – a group filled with Kentuckians and their descendents – in his last stand against Andrew Jackson's final solution to the Indian issue which had plagued his western home since his first arrival in the region in the late eighteenth century.[2] Indian removal and resistance were events linked to how western Americans

[1] Shane, born in Cincinnati in 1812, demonstrated that his own attitude towards the Indians was influenced by the experience of his predecessors. See David Barrow and John D. Shane (ed.) 'Journal of David Barrow, June 24th, 1795' Draper Manuscripts 12CC170

[2] Aron *American Confluence*, pp. 112-113, Jon Meacham *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the Whitehouse* (New York: Random House, 2009), pp. 21-25. For the importance of pre-existing attitudes towards Indian removal, particularly racism see Gloria Jahoda *The Trail of Tears* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), pp. 1-18

understood the tribes, and that understanding was tied to decades of violent experience gained during the frontier war.[3] The war was a memory, but in this form it continued to endure, passed to succeeding generations via oral and print traditions, informing the heirs of the west of the horrors experienced, the violations endured, and losses incurred at Indian hands.[4] In short, the violence which had plagued the trans-Appalachian west found an Indian summer, so to speak, in the imagination of those who followed in its wake.

For all its significance in early American history it can be easy to forget that violence is not an event – some grand battle or memorable confrontation – but a process which is fundamentally connected to those who experience and remember it. Whatever the significance of a given confrontation, behind the clash of swords and tomahawks, muskets and arrows, is a chain of events which stretches back into its participants' past and, often, into its survivors' future. More than a physical expression of larger social, political and economic forces, violent confrontations – physical clashes, threatened attacks, and psychological assaults – were highly formative affairs, informing how the settlers and Indians of Kentucky, Ohio and the larger trans-Appalachian west came to understand one another. True, settlers and Indians shared a variety of nuanced contact points throughout the colonial and early republican

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[3] For a discussion on how the Indians' lack of civilization informed the drive for removal see Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2007), pp. 20-41, Anthony F. C. Wallace *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), pp. 29-65 and Griffin *American Leviathan*, pp. 214-216, 255

[4] For examples of the influence of the frontier war in the print tradition (many of these works are openly based on oral tradition or firsthand experience) of the trans-Appalachian region see Baldwin and Anonymous (ed.) *Narrative of the Massacre, by the Savages, of the Wife and Children of Thomas Baldwin*, James A. McClung *Sketches of Western Adventure Containing an Account of the Most Interesting Incidents Connected with the Settlement of the West, from 1755 to 1794:with an Appendix* (Maysville: L. Collins, 1832), Smith *The History of Kentucky: From its Earliest Discovery and Settlement to the Present Date*, Smith *The History of Kentucky: From its Earliest Discovery and Settlement to the Present Date*, Humphrey Marshall *The History of Kentucky Exhibiting an Account of the Modern Discovery; Settlement; Progressive Improvement; Civil and Military Transactions; and the Present State of the Country in Two Volumes, Volumes I & II* (Frankfort: George S. Robinson, 1824), Samuel Metcalf *A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Indian Warfare in the West Containing an Account of the Adventures of Daniel Boone, One of the First Settlers of Kentucky, Comprehending the Most Important Occurrences Relative to its Early History - - Also, an Account of the Manners, and Customs of the Indians, their Traditions and Religious Sentiments, their Police or Civil Government, their Discipline and Method of War: to which is Added an Account of the Expeditions of Generals Harmar, Scott, Wilkinson, St. Clair & Wayne: The Whole Compiled from the Best Authorities* (Lexington: William G. Hunt, 1821), John S. Williams (ed.) *American Pioneer, A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Objects of the Logan Historical Society; or, to Collecting and Publishing Sketches Relative to Early Settlement and Successive Improvement of the Country, Volume I* (Cincinnati: H.P. Brooks, 1844), John W. Gray *The Life of Joseph Bishop, the Celebrated Old Pioneer in the First Settlements of Middle Tennessee, Embracing his Wonderful Adventures and Narrow Escapes with the Indians, his Animating and Remarkable Hunting Excursions Interspersed with Racy Anecdotes of those Early Times* (1858; reprint, Nashville: John W. Gray, 1868) and John Frost *Pioneer Life in the West; Comprising the Adventures of Boone, Kenton, Brady, Clarke, The Whetzels, and Others, in their Fierce Encounters with the Indians* (Philadelphia: John E. Potter & Company, 1858) and William Elsey Connelly *The Eastern Kentucky Papers: The Founding of Harman's Station with an Account of the Indian Captivity of Mrs. Jennie Wiley and the Exploration and Settlement of the Big Sandy Valley in the Virginias and Kentucky* (New York: The Torch Press, 1910)

periods but in the trans-Appalachian west, particularly the Kentucky country, they primarily encountered one another not through nuanced, firsthand experience of their respective cultures but the experience of violence which both parties fostered, imposed, and, ultimately, helped to bring about. Conflict, then, was not merely a physical act, the conclusion or beginning of some grand political meta-narrative, but one of the core social driving forces upon the frontier in the Kentucky country and trans-Appalachian region. When John Shane began his quest to recover the otherwise unrecorded stories and narratives of the aging settler population he encountered a set of memories that were more than the sum of their parts; he encountered a collective memory, shaped by shared experience, which linked their revolutionary past to their antebellum present.

Through a period of more than two decades, the settlers of the trans-Appalachian west had encountered their Indian adversaries in a context of physical violation, threatened atrocity, and psychological horror. Of course, these were the wartime tools not only of the tribes but the settlers also. Regardless of their mutual use, however, the settlers primarily remembered their victimization at Indian hands rather than the brutality of their own anti-Indian campaign. Their own acts of war may have been as bloody and horrifying as those enacted by their enemies, but the memory of their losses created an understanding among the settlers which emphasised brutality and fear as the context in which they came to view, understand, and remember the Indians. Played out over a span of time measured not in months and years, but decades, this perspective was continually renewed and compounded, a series of events, stories, and ideas which would ultimately serve to drive the settlers and Indians further apart than they had ever been before. This changing relationship between western settlers and the tribes emphasises something which should not be forgotten: violence brought significant change to the west and, ultimately, America. It served to reinforce perceived difference, underline perceived savagery, and highlight perceived cultural incompatibility, all issues which would help to shape American interactions with the Indians for decades, particularly in the period which created and saw the enactment of the Indian removals from the east.[5]

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[5] For violence associated with this movement see [5] Black Hawk, Antoine LeClair (Translator) and J.B. Patterson (ed.) *Autobiography of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak or Black Hawk, Embracing the Traditions of his Nations, Various Wars in which he has been Engaged, and his Account of the Cause and General History of the Black Hawk War of 1832, his Surrender and Travel through the United States. Dictated by Himself. Also Life, Death and Burial of the Old Chief, together with A History of the Black Hawk War and Also Life, Death and Burial of the Old Chief, Together with a History of the Black Hawk War, by J. B. Patterson, Oquawka, 1882* (Rock Island: J.B. Patterson, 1882), pp. 73-74, Elijah Kilbourn 'Kilbourn's Narrative: A Reminiscence of Black Hawk' in Black Hawk, Antoine LeClair (Translator) and J.B. Patterson (ed.) *Autobiography of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak or Black Hawk, Embracing the Traditions of his Nations, Various Wars in which he has been Engaged, and his Account of the Cause and General History*

In the Kentucky country this reality was a part of life's everyday experience. Violence was carried out routinely between settlers and Indians and, even where it was not encountered directly, the nature of settler society, combined with the nature of frontier warfare, ensured that a given settler was never separated by more than a few degrees from the unfolding conflict. Moreover, the war fought in and around this country lasted longer – in continuous terms, at least – than virtually any other war in North America up to that point. Indeed, the experience of violence was so fundamental that it is not possible to understand the development of this region without understanding how it impacted the society developing in its midst; this has been the core line of enquiry undertaken by this thesis. Beginning in chapter one, the significance of vendetta driven conflict between relatively small groups of settlers and Indians was emphasised within the context of Dunmore's War. Although typically analysed through a lens of political intrigue or economic necessity, the actions and reactions of those on the ground had far more impact on the outbreak of conflict in 1774 than the machinations of men such as Lord Dunmore. Rather than being a war driven by top-down forces, this chapter analysed, explored, and emphasised the agency of ordinary settlers and Indians in fostering, building, and escalating conflict upon the frontier. More importantly, it explored how the nature of violent interactions – particularly where third parties were harmed – served to motivate those same individuals to engage in violent acts of their own. This was not a conflict driven by something as simple as Indian-hating, even at this early phase. Instead, a small number of settlers and Indians began to see their views of each other radicalised as a direct result of the violence being carried out in the backcountry. Both groups acted, to a certain extent, in a reactionary manner against the perceived atrocities committed against their people, a pattern which would later come to be repeated across a much broader section of both societies. Even at this early stage in the war, violence was not merely an expression of larger top-down issues, but a force which drove the conflict forward in its own right.

Violence, however, is far more complex than a simple physical interaction and, in particular, its psychological dimension added significant depth to its impact upon places such as Kentucky. Indeed, deliberate psychological warfare became one of the Indians' core tools against settler expansion west of the Appalachian Mountains, something explored in detail in the second chapter of this thesis. Although not as deadly as its physical counterpart, psychological warfare – by its very nature – could produce long lasting effects indeed. By deliberately targeting the settlers' morale and emotional wellbeing, the Indians were able to

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of the Black Hawk War of 1832, his Surrender and Travel through the United States. Dictated by Himself. Also Life, Death and Burial of the Old Chief, together with A History of the Black Hawk War, by J. B. Patterson, Oquawka, 1882 (Rock Island: J.B. Patterson, 1882), pp. 162-164 and Patrick J. Jung *The Black Hawk War of 1832* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), pp. 87-89

drive huge numbers back east without engaging in an excessive amount of physical violence. However, psychological warfare relies not upon the reality on the ground but the perceived reality of its intended victims and though the idea of an ever-present Indian threat certainly served to drive away large numbers of settlers, it also served to compound growing anti-Indian sentiment among those who stayed. Although the numbers killed between 1775 and 1777 in Kentucky was relatively small, the graphic display of bodies (and body parts), the continuous harassment of parties in the wilderness, and highly strategic attacks and false sieges all served to compound negative perceptions of the tribes. Actual physical violence may have been relatively rare during the first years of Kentucky's settlement, but by fostering an environment of fear and paranoia among the settlers its presence or absence came to mean very little. Rather, it was the perceived reality of violence and the perceived level of danger that was important and both of these remained high throughout Kentucky's formative years. Put simply, the Indians carried out a campaign which deliberately fostered fear among the settlers, but in so doing they also served to foster stronger anti-Indian ideas among their adversaries. To compound this issue, psychological warfare remained a strong part of the Indians' arsenal throughout the frontier war, but the type of practices it employed served – in the long term – to further alienate settler from Indian.

In a very real way, then, vendetta inspired conflict and psychological warfare informed how the settler community interacted with and understood the Indians from an early phase in the war. Indeed, the broader impact of this growing concert of violence was the division in the settler mind of the world they inhabited, those zones they controlled – the settlements – and those zones controlled by the tribes – the wilderness – a subject explored throughout chapter three. This division of the land, a response to the Indians' apparent dominance beyond the settlers' stockade, served to reflect the everyday impact the war had upon the developing settler community. By dividing the landscape into these two broad zones, the settlers also created a new division which helped to define their community; those who were able to operate in the wilderness, and those who were not. Such a division cut across existing barriers within settler society. Although most of those individuals able to operate within the wilderness were men it does not follow that most men were willing to brave the outside world. Instead the world defined by the stockade defined not a gendered space but one marked by ability, experience and, sometimes, determination. Outside of their fort towns, the settlers were equally vulnerable to the growing Indian threat, a reality which saw ethnic – and sometimes racial – divisions dissolve in the face of necessity and a shared ordeal. Even within the stockade the experience was a shared one with many across the country holding a common set of experiences generated by the realities of war. These experiences were a core

part of the frontier experience within the Kentucky country and though continuous immigration ensured that large areas within this region stabilised over time, newly settled regions continued to share the experience of a divided environment.

Indian dominance within the wilderness, their successful use of psychological warfare, and the growing presence of physical violence on the frontier represent – in martial terms – a high point in their struggle to reverse settler incursions into Kentucky. However, their success was never total; the Indians may have controlled the wilderness but that control lessened over time as land hungry settlers wrestled growing areas of this region from the raiding parties who held them. Problematically, even at its height the use of physical and psychological warfare failed to empty the Kentucky country. The lure of cheap, affordable, high quality land was simply too much for the settlers to resist. Still, however, the Indians resisted and, by the late 1770s and early 1780s, that resistance began to produce, as shown in chapter four, a significant counter-movement among the settlers who, by this point, were growing ever more radical in their view of the Indians. Confined to stockades, afflicted by a culture of fear, and often having firsthand experience with combat, the settlers' anti-Indian zeal increased significantly. Even more problematically, this growing anti-Indian sentiment manifested itself in a proactive desire to strike back at the Indians, a desire which culminated in a growing series of assaults north of the Ohio River. Whereas the settlers had previously demonstrated little interest in attacking the Indians directly, by the 1780s men like George R. Clark were able to capitalise upon this movement, drawing vast numbers from the country – in some cases almost the entire adult male population – for grand assaults upon the Indians' homeland, a process which, in turn, influenced many Indians to likewise revisit harm with harm, assault with assault, and atrocity with atrocity. This system of communal revenge and retribution reflected some of the issues which led to a spiral of violence in 1774 but, rather than the small numbers involved during that earlier period, the late 1770s and 1780s were marked by a much broader involvement from the community. The frontier war had become a social war.

Key to this development, the desire of the community to extract revenge for past acts of violence and perceived atrocities, was the nature of the societies which occupied the frontier, the subject of chapter five. Personal connections between individuals, within the family, and throughout the community were no small issue during this period. Parents and their children, husbands and wives, siblings, and companions were all tied to one another by a network of concern and affection which defined their everyday world. The violation of these connections, the destruction of lives and relationships, was a major issue with sorrow, loss, and anger echoing through the available source material and the actions of the frontier's inhabitants. Logan's response to the death of his family in 1774 is an early example of this, but

Logan's actions were hardly unique and across the frontier broken familial and fraternal connections helped to fuel the growing war. Indeed, the violation of social networks and the community was one of the most important factors in fostering widespread conflict upon the frontier. It contextualised the experience not only of the individual but the community. Moreover, this reality was one shared by both settlers and Indians who placed significant value on the lives and wellbeing of their family and compatriots but, whatever the similarities shared by these communities, it speaks to the power of violence that – as a rule – neither group showed significant sympathy for the losses their wartime activities inflicted upon their enemies. What mattered were not the social and familial losses one's enemy had incurred but those losses experienced firsthand by the local community. The importance of familial and fraternal connections also serves to underline the danger or reducing the frontier war to a discussion of Indian-hating; both settlers and Indians alike were driven to fight not by a simplified racial understanding, but a nuanced engagement with their own communities. To be sure, settlers across the region no doubt developed a mentality which reflected a growing anti-Indian sentiment but that was a product of the interaction which occurred between wartime violence and the breaking of precious social networks and connections. Put simply, many settlers may have become Indian-haters, but that development was the result of a far more fundamental interaction between conflict, loss, and one's valued social networks.

Across the trans-Appalachian west, then, the war with the Indians was a highly loaded and, often, emotional affair. The destruction of families, kin, and social networks fed a much larger system of reciprocal violence which, given the correct conditions, could come to be exploited, an issue explored in chapter six. George R. Clark, for instance, was able to utilize the settlers' growing animosity towards the tribes throughout the late 1770s and early 1780s, reversing his previous failures to rally the settlers to his banner. By the late 1780s and 1790s, however, the exploitation anti-Indian sentiment reached a new peak when the United States, a body which had proven largely ineffective in the west, utilized this force in order to rally the settlers to its cause. Although the United States had made numerous attempts to end the frontier war throughout the 1780s, its attempts to do so peacefully – and with minimal expense – contradicted the self-sustaining cycle of conflict which had developed in the region. Leaders on both sides of the frontier may have been keen to end the conflict following the conclusion of the American Revolution, but those whom they sought to lead continued to fight in spite of their efforts. Particularly problematic for the United States, this division between east and west threatened to undermine the legitimacy of the new nation beyond the Appalachians with the government and its western subjects sharply divided over the Indian issue. Indeed, the disparate attitudes demonstrated by eastern leaders and western settlers

appeared to underline a fundamental division within the new nation. However, by the late 1780s the United States altered its approach and, rather than attempting to restrain the setter population, it instead began to manipulate and take advantage of its inhabitants' anti-Indian zeal in order to achieve unity with its western population and ownership of the Indians' remaining lands. Such an approach drew upon a legacy of violence and its social aftermath, manipulating and exploiting attitudes, fears, apprehensions, and long held resentments. By the 1790s, then, the violence generated by the frontier war had become a commodity of sorts, something which could be taken, repackaged, and redistributed to meet the larger goals of the national government.

By the time the Treaty of Greenville was signed in 1795 the Kentucky country and larger trans-Appalachian west had undergone an extended period of violent intercultural contact which had fundamentally informed its frontier experience. Violence and society in this region were fundamentally linked, each informing the other. Indeed, even after the war concluded its impact upon western society would continue to be felt for decades, something John Shane would experience firsthand as he travelled the country collecting memories, narratives, and glimpses into the events which informed the western world view. Veterans of the war shared experiences with one another and, in the process, generated a communal narrative which they would pass on to succeeding generations of westerners. Particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century, resentments continued to fester among the veterans of the war who never considered the Indian question settled. Instead, they agitated for a final solution to this issue which would finally be granted to them only when one of their own, Andrew Jackson, ascended to the White House. Over time, the social memory of the war took on a life of its own as those who bore it migrated throughout the trans-Appalachian region and, ultimately, across the western portion of the continent. Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio would all receive significant injections of Kentucky blood including, in the case of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln who would later authorise the hanging of thirty eight Santee Sioux, the largest mass execution in American history.[6] In Missouri, the Boone family would continue its tradition of frontier occupancy where Daniel, his youngest son Nathan, and various other family members and acquaintances would have numerous run-ins and confrontations with the territory's aboriginal population.[7] During the War of 1812 Nathan Boone would be mustered by the

[6] Kenneth Carley *The Dakota War of 1862: Minnesota's Other Civil War* (1976; reprint, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1961)

[7] It is also worth pointing out here that Daniel Boone in his old age attempted to live peacefully with the Indians wherever he could, even visiting his former Shawnee relatives (captors) who now resided in the region. But as significant as Boone's sympathy for the Indians became, this was a characteristic of his particular personality, not the people to whom he belonged. By the end of his life Boone had – largely

state's governor, William Clark who was himself the brother of the famed Indian fighter, George R. Clark. It was also in Missouri that the Kentucky-born Kit Carson would be raised prior to his prolific career exploring America's far west.[8]

Along with provisions, land grants, and whatever property they owned, this outward stream of settlers carried upon their shoulders the legacy of the frontier war which they would, in turn, pass on to their children and the wider community. To be sure, there were some veterans who took very different perspectives following the end of hostilities – even Simon Kenton, the confirmed Indian fighter, would eventually find peace with the tribes he had hated with such vehemence – but these individuals were the exception rather the rule.[9] As westerners spread across the Mississippi, so too did their legacy travel, told in tales, stories, and song. Books, too, played a crucial role in helping to spread the resentment felt by those who had fought in the war, informing settlers across the nation that wherever Indians resided they would likely have to fight. And suffer loss. These were powerful concepts shaped and moulded by war, but carried and maintained by communities. Although the question of slavery may have been the overriding issue which dominated the United States throughout much of the nineteenth century it was not the only concept to separate the peoples of North America. They may not have belonged to the same nation, but the settlers and the Indians provided a mirror for one another. Although these peoples were, on many levels, fundamentally different they both reflected the impact of war upon communities and societies, each having been changed on one level or another by the experience. Materially speaking, there was little to separate the pioneer from the tribesman at the turn of the nineteenth century, but still the experience of war would drive an ideological – followed by a geographic – wedge between these peoples.[10]

Throughout this thesis the formative power of violence – a force which altered and shaped societies – has been considered at every step. In the short term it had a significant impact upon the shape of society in the trans-Appalachian region but in the long term its impact, though less obvious, was no less important. The settlers could certainly claim victory on virtually every level in 1795 and, again, in 1832, but the impact of war can never truly be distilled into such two dimensional terms. Of course, for the Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo, Wyandot, Miami and numerous other Indian tribes of the Ohio Valley the situation was clear

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through continued and repeated losses of lands – become ever more alienated from his fellow settlers. Draper 'Interview with Nathan and Olive Boone,' pp. 119-133.

[8] Harvey Lewis Carter *Dear Old Kit: The Historical Christopher Carson* (1968; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), p. 223

[9] Alder and Nelson (ed.) *A History of Jonathan Alder*, pp. 175-176

[10] Aron *American Confluence*, p. 103

cut. Indeed, it was clear to the settlers as well, however both communities had fought, both had suffered loss, and both would suffer lasting consequences that would affect them for generations to come. Neither side walked away from this war unscathed or unchanged. Moreover, neither could walk away and consign these events entirely to the past. Just as the Indians had been largely unable to prevent their removal, so too were the settlers unable to escape the legacy of a war which had driven them down this path in the first place. There can be no denying that the settlers had won the frontier war – and that the eastern Indians had suffered a defeat from which they would never recover – but that victory must be qualified by a complex legacy which would haunt, drive, and follow this group for decades, if not centuries, afterwards. The Indians may have walked the Trail of Tears alone, but both they and the settlers had walked the line of fire together.

Throughout the course of this work the impact of warfare and violence upon society has been a key concept that has been analysed in the context of the frontier war which took place from 1774 to 1795. Rather than think of war or conflict as a consequence of existing tensions – be them racial, economic, social, or political – this work has instead sought to analyse how violence itself can affect, mould and change societies, driving them into new conflicts and perpetuating old ones. At various point throughout the two decades primarily studied in this work, the goals of the political élite converged with those who fought on the ground but, in many instances, the war fought in the Ohio Valley was a struggle independent of the top down world historians tend to concern themselves with. Of course, issues concerning land ownership, greed, and ethnic distrust all played a role in providing this war with its particular shape but, examined from the bottom up, the impact of violence upon those who fought becomes not only clearly visible, but essential to understanding why the battle for the trans-Appalachian west took the form that it did. Put simply, violence is not merely an aftershock of other, more prominent forces but can be, in its own right, a reason to continue fighting. The settlers of the Kentucky and trans-Appalachian regions did not fight for the sake of quenching their own thirst for blood. Instead they fought because they lived in a world where violence was the only realistic answer to past acts of violence. Conflict was thus one of the primary products of the war, and war was one of the primary products of conflict. This circular system pressed the settlers and the Indians against one another, even when peace was sought by leaders on both sides, and even when peace was by far the most positive and rational outcome each group could hope to achieve. Even following the end of hostilities, the settlers were simply unable to set aside the desire for revenge which had been generated by the fighting and, for decades after Fallen Timbers, they continued to agitate against their onetime foes. For decades, the Indians of the Ohio Valley would be remembered by the

region's new settler population as their natural enemies and, as a consequence of this, the tribes would have to face exile from the eastern states. The conflict between the settlers and the Indians cannot truly be said to have come to an end in 1795 and, thus, the settlers cannot truly have a victory attributed to them. Instead they, along with the Indians, were caught in a system of their own making which would fundamentally influence both peoples for decades to come. The term of a given war, the settlers discovered, was not limited to the arbitrary dates set upon it by politicians and historians, but was instead dictated by the actions of the people who fought, remembered, and experienced it. The war was a memory, but the memory lived on.

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